WRAXALL'S ABRIDGMENT OF THE NEW YORK INDIAN RECORDS 1678 – 1751

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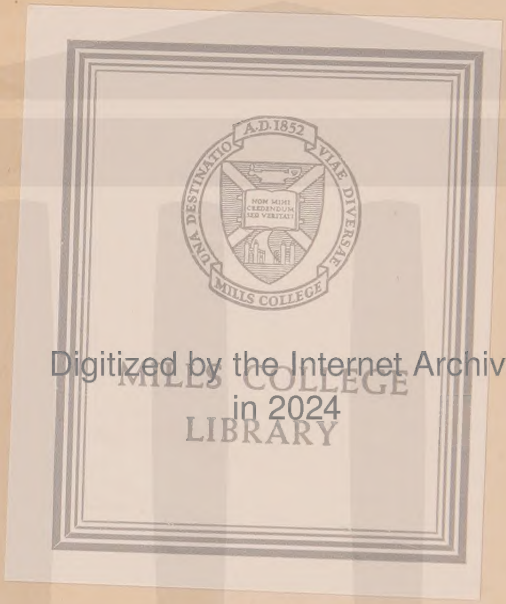

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AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE INDIAN AFFAIRS

CONTAINED IN FOUR FOLIO VOLUMES, TRANSACTED IN THE COLONY OF NEW YORK, FROM THE YEAR 1678 TO THE YEAR 1751

BY

PETER WRAXALL

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By CHARLES HOWARD McILWAIN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WITHDRAWN

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IN MEMORIAM

MARIAE IRWIN McILWAIN,

SOCIAE CARAE, UT IN OMNIBUS ITA
IN HOC OPERE FIDISSIMAE

PREFACE

THE publication of this Abridgment is the result of some investigation of the New York Indian trade in its international aspect made a number of years ago under the direction of Professor Edward Channing. In the course of that investigation I became impressed with the value of Wraxall's notes and obtained permission to have a copy of them made with a view to their publication. The publication has hitherto been delayed by stress of other work and would probably have been postponed still longer but for the disastrous fire of 1911 which destroyed so many of the New York archives, including the original from which this copy was made.

In the introduction I have attempted to set forth in general terms the character of the document and its relation to the history of the eighteenth century in order that the text and Wraxall's own notes might not be complicated by any added apparatus further than was absolutely necessary. I have also introduced there a number of illustrative extracts from various New York documents the originals of which have been in some cases wholly or partially destroyed. Where any of these have survived in whole or in part I have carefully compared my copies with them so far as this was possible, but, of course, in many cases the total destruction of the original made this out of the question. The latter was unfortunately true of the Abridgment itself, but the copy from which it is here printed was made under the personal direction of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer and Mr. Peter Nelson of the department of archives of the New York State Library, which is a guarantee of the accuracy and care with which the work was done.

My thanks are due to the New York State Library and to Dr. Melvil Dewey, its former director, for permission to publish this Abridgment; to Mr. van Laer and Mr. Nelson, not only for their supervision of the making of the copy, but also for inval-

uable help in many other ways; and to Dr. Doughty and Mr. David W. Parker, in charge of the Dominion archives at Ottawa, for permission to examine the surviving volumes of the Indian registers and for information in regard to them.

In the preparation of the introduction I have been greatly aided at many points by the suggestions and criticism of Professor F. J. Turner: also by the help of Professor Charles W. Spencer, of Princeton University, on whose knowledge of conditions in colonial New York I have freely drawn; and of Professor Channing, who first aroused my interest in this subject. Their kindness has placed me under a very heavy obligation.

Words or passages written by Wraxall and afterwards cancelled by him are indicated by placing them within brackets. Where parentheses occur in the text they are Wraxall's own. His paging of the original manuscript is also given in parentheses.

The surviving volumes of the minutes of the Albany commissioners now preserved at Ottawa are uniformly referred to as *Original Indian Records.* The unprinted minutes of the New York Provincial Council are cited by the short title, *N. Y. Council MSS.;* the New York Colonial Manuscripts, by *N. Y. MSS.* The two manuscript collections last named, together with the manuscripts of Sir William Johnson (here referred to as *Johnson MSS.*), formed a part of the archives of the State of New York and were partially destroyed in the fire of 1911.

The chief printed sources referred to are *Colonial Laws of New York*, Albany, 1894–96, 5 volumes, 8vo., cited as *N. Y. Col. Laws; Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York*, two volumes, folio, New York, 1764–66, printed by Hugh Gaine, cited as *N. Y. Assembly Journals; Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1853–87, fifteen volumes, cited as *N. Y. Col. Docs.*

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WRAXALL'S ABRIDGEMENT OF THE NEW YORK INDIAN RECORDS 1–251

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY FUR TRADE

"To preserve the Ballance between us & the French is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics." [1]

"The Indians frequently repeat that Trade was the foundation of their Alliance or Connexions with us & that it is the chief Cement w^ch^ binds us together. And this should undoubtedly be the first Principle of our whole System of Indian Politics." [2]

The proper regulation of this trade Wraxall declares "is the only Method we have left to resist & overthrow the French influence among the Indians, in all other ways they are & will be our Superiors." [3] This is the theme of Wraxall's *Abridgment* here printed — the Indian trade and the preservation of the balance against the French by means of it. Few subjects are more important in the history of colonial North America. But in no phase of that history is the discrepancy greater between the importance of the subject to contemporaries and the indifference to it of modern historians.

In estimating the significance of institutions and events of a period separated from our own by years of development and change, two different points of view are possible. One is the conscious or unconscious looking backward from the conditions and institutions of today, through the various stages through which these have developed. The other consists in placing ourselves at once in the mental attitude of the men of the past epoch we are trying to elucidate. What we shall see in an earlier epoch, or rather what we shall consider worthy of relating, will depend very largely upon which of these points of vantage we select. To illustrate from mediaeval English history: The chroniclers make

[1] *Post*, p. 219. [2] *Post*, p. 153. [3] *Post*, p. 111.

very slight mention of Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265, with its first summons of representatives from the boroughs. To a contemporary, the calling up of a few such additional members to a factional assembly had no particular significance. For a modern student, however, who knows the later development of the House of Commons, such an event takes on a wholly different aspect and has an infinitely greater importance. It is clear that the historian must not be blind to either of these aspects of his materials. If he ignores the subsequent development of the institutions he treats of, and simply views them with the eyes of a contemporary, he becomes just what that contemporary too often was, a simple annalist, or what is worse, his modern analogue, a mere antiquary. On the other hand, just because he does know the subsequent history, the historian may be so vividly conscious of the vast possibilities of development contained in some embryonic institution, or the momentous results of some apparently unimportant event, that he will read into the minds of the unconscious contemporary all his own conscious enthusiasm. The results are likely to be only less disastrous than in the other case. For such a person Simon is likely to appear a conscious and calculating *Schöpfer des Hauses der Gemeinen.*

In the case of institutions or conditions which have not persisted to our day, the problem becomes more complicated. And here there is often peculiar danger of underestimating the importance of some institution or condition no longer existing which may have bulked very large in the eyes of contemporaries, influenced their actions, and moulded subsequent events; and of substituting for these something more familiar to ourselves. The forest laws in England are an instance, and in American history the Indian trade. By a modern historian, the Albany Congress of 1754, to take one instance, is usually regarded, and regarded rightly, as significant chiefly because it was part of a long development which culminated in our federal union. But for most of the men of 1754 themselves — whether Englishmen or colonials — the primary purpose was not so much union as common defence, Indian alliance, and the united control and regulation of the trade in furs. Union was necessary, but mainly as a means to these

ends. To forget the real importance of the development of colonial union in which this was an important stage would be fatal, but fortunately this has not been done. To ignore the fact that the direct aim of contemporaries was at something else than union is almost equally serious, and unfortunately it has frequently been done, and with disastrous results. The union has persisted, and we are not likely to overlook it. The fur trade has disappeared with the beaver and the Indians, and we are often in danger of forgetting its immense importance in that struggle which "ruined France in two continents, and blighted her as a colonial power"; which "gave England the control of the seas and the mastery of North America and India, made her the first of commercial nations, and prepared that vast colonial system that has planted new Englands in every quarter of the globe"; which "supplied to the United States the indispensable condition of their greatness, if not of their national existence." [1]

"The influence of the Indians on the English colonies was two-fold," declares the late Dr. John A. Doyle. "The settler had to deal with them as neighbours, sometimes as friends, sometimes as possible converts to the fold of Christianity, and he had to deal with them as enemies. But it was in the latter character that the influence of the savage was mainly felt. Commerce with the Indians was unimportant; the efforts of missionaries among them were but passing episodes in the history of the colonies." [2] Such a statement is to me inexplicable. In some parts of the colonies, cut off by mountains or by intervening settlements, the trade may have been relatively insignificant at certain periods. In no province was this the case for the whole colonial period. For the colonies as a whole it was never true, and for the great central colonies facing the lakes and the Ohio valley it never had the semblance of truth. The contemporary evidence against it is overwhelming. To say that at most this Indian commerce was never more than a frontier trade will not be a very convincing argument for its lack of importance in our colonial and national development to any one who appreciates the fundamental and

[1] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Introduction.

[2] *Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas*, 13.

continuing "Significance of the Frontier in American History." [1] From the very beginning of things English on this continent the great importance of Indian trade can be shown.

The chief early economic interests of Englishmen in America were in turn gold, fish, and furs. The interest in gold perforce soon disappeared. The fishing industry reached very large proportions at a very early date.[2] The transition from fishing to trading, though its history is obscure, was an easy one, and it occurred remarkably early.[3] Before the Armada, Richard Whitbourne, primarily a fisherman, was sailing along our eastern coast "proposing there to trade then with the Savage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales." [4]

Thus in Mr. Biggar's phrase the "great fishing industry . . . in turn became the mother of the fur-trade." [5] Evidences of

[1] *American Historical Association Reports*, 1893.

[2] The early references to it, both English and American, are very numerous. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Englishmen were making frequent voyages to the Grand Banks. Privy Purse, Expenses of King Henry VII, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 85 *et seq. passim.* By 1527, when John Rut made his voyage, the industry had become very important. Purchas (1625), Pt. iii, p. 809.

[3] Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France*, pp. 28–29.

[4] *A Discourse and Discovery*, Preface. In the years following, it steadily increased. The author of *The Planter's Plea*, writing in 1630, declares that "it is well known, before our breach with Spain, we usually sent out to New England yearly, forty or fifty sail of ships of reasonable good burthen, for fishing only." *American Colonial Tracts*, Rochester, N. Y., ii, No. 3, p. 13. These figures are borne out by a letter written in 1578 and included in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (iii, p. 132). By the year 1605 the number of English ships had grown to 250, according to Sir Josiah Child, *A New Discourse of Trade*, Glasgow, 1751, p. 155. Probably the most interesting evidence is that of Richard Whitbourne, who, writing in 1622, describes many voyages in which he had taken part, the first more than forty years before. He reports that in 1615 there were engaged in fishing no fewer than 250 English ships employing more than 5000 men and bringing back cargoes which totalled £150,000 in value. *A Discourse Containing a Loving Invitation*, etc., London, 1622, pp. 19, 45. This he says was an average year. In 1621 it was asserted that the Newfoundland fisheries employed 300 ships with 10,000 British seamen, producing a customs revenue of nearly £10,000 a year. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1660*, p. 25. See also Morton, *New English Canaan*, p. 86. Mr. McFarland's *History of the New England Fisheries* (1911) adds nothing to our knowledge of the early history.

[5] *The Early Trading Companies of New France*, p. 17. It began very early. Verazzano, if his famous letter is genuine, had with him in 1524 "little bells and glasses, and many toys," certainly not for the amusement of his crew. *The Voyage*

the importance of this early Indian trade become more numerous as time goes on, and indicate a trade at once significant in amount and important in the eyes of contemporaries. The surprising thing in these records is the fact that, go back as far as we may, in the very earliest recorded voyages we find that the Indians had collected stores of skins in anticipation of trade with the Europeans, and that the voyagers in turn had invariably brought with them goods for this traffic — " Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailes, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like," as Purchas records of the voyage of Martin Pring to the New England coast in 1603.[1] More surprising still is the

of Verrazzano, by Henry C. Murphy. Appendix, p. 177. Cartier found when he first met the Indians of the mainland in 1534 that they were already perfectly accustomed to trade with Europeans in furs. *Early English and French Voyages*, ed. by H. S. Burrage, pp. 20, 21; cited also by Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, p. 30. In 1545 Jean Alfonsce found that the New England Indians had accumulations of furs evidently for trade with Europeans. Biggar, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Parkman cites a manuscript containing letters of Pedro Menendez to Philip II, which say that in 1565 and for some years previous bison skins were brought by the Indians from the upper Potomac along the coast to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He estimated that 6000 skins were thus obtained in two years. *Pioneers of New France*, p. 230, note 4. In Gosnold's voyage to New England in 1602 the trade in furs is a prominent part. Brereton's *Briefe & True Relation*, *Early English and French Voyages*, ed. by H. S. Burrage, p. 337. According to *Rosier's Relation* of the voyage of Weymouth to the Kennebec in 1605 the Indians are told that " the intent of our coming to them to be for no other end " than the fur trade (Gorges Society), p. 113. Captain John Smith mentions his " ranging the Coast " of New England for trade in 1614, with the result that he " got for trifles neere eleven thousand Bever skinnes, one hundred Martins, as many Otters." Works, edited by E. Arber, p. 698. See also p. 715. Prince says that in 1621, ten or twelve ships from England traded on the New England coast for beaver, in 1622, thirty-five ships, in 1623, forty ships, and in 1624, fifty ships. *History of New England*, i, pp. 99, 117. John Smith reported in 1622, that " from Cannada and New England within these six yeares hath come neare 20,000 Bever skins." *New England's Trials*, 2d ed., Works, p. 269. Many additional references might be given. Sixteenth century figures are not always to be implicitly trusted, but even with all allowances made, these remain sufficiently remarkable.

[1] Purchas (1625), Pt. iv, p. 1654. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's men in 1583 found in one hut in Newfoundland " above two hundred and fortie hides " which the Indians had collected. Hakluyt, iii, p. 175. The Indians on the Kennebec indicated to Weymouth that they " had great plenty of Furres " for trade. *Rosier's Relation* (Gorges Society), pp. 124–125, 126–127, 117. The fact that both Indians and Europeans were prepared for trade comes out in practically all the narratives of voyages to our eastern coast, even the earliest.

fact that as early as 1616 the Indians, in order to collect these stores of skins, had to penetrate the interior probably as far as the lakes.[1] It seems remarkable that the trade had developed to such a degree and had already covered so great an area before a single permanent English settlement had been made within the present United States north of the James River.

After settlements were made the story is the same. The records of the ill-starred Sagadahoc Colony are full of the subject.[2] With the coming of Plymouth settlers we might expect something else. Their motives in coming to America were mixed, but fishing was no small ingredient.[3] In the beginning they knew nothing of the fur trade,[4] but proved very apt learners, and this trade soon became one of the foundations of their prosperity, one of the chief means of lifting the financial burdens which threatened the little colony, and it is hardly too much to say one of the principal factors which enabled the struggling settlement to survive. But the Pilgrims were not the only settlers on the Massachusetts coast before the great migration to the Bay. Of the others one has left a most interesting account, which shows that he and his fellows were there for one purpose, and that the trade in furs.[5]

The leaders of the great Bay colony itself have left unmistakable evidence of the importance of the Indian trade to them and of their appreciation of it. Much of the jealousy which divided the New England colonies one from another, as well as their common opposition to external enemies which produced the New

[1] " For their Trade and Merchandize, to each of their principall families or habitations, they have divers Townes and people belonging, and by their relations and descriptions, more than twentie severall habitations and rivers that stretch themselves farre into the Countrey, even to the Borders of divers great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Otters." John Smith, *General Historie of Virginia*, Works, p. 707.

[2] *The Sagadahoc Colony*, edited by H. O. Thayer (Gorges Society), pp. 43, 72, 89, 133 (1607).

[3] See Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, i, pp. 14–15, 88 *et seq.;* Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, pp. 17–18, 89.

[4] Bradford, *History of Plimouth Plantation* (ed. of 1898), p. 130.

[5] Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan.*

England Confederacy, is directly traceable to the fur trade, and the early extinction of the beaver in New England.[1]

In the southern colonies we might, indeed, expect the trade to be "unimportant," but the records do not bear out that expectation.[2]

As the beaver country near the coast became exhausted, the conditions of the trade changed, and those colonies which had direct access to the lakes and the Mississippi valley acquired a virtual monopoly of the English trade. Thus New Jersey, which had once enjoyed a prosperous trade, was deprived of it by Pennsylvania, though Pennsylvania herself was for a half century or more at a disadvantage compared with New York, on account of the lack of water routes to the West; Virginia was handicapped in the same way, and New England saw herself, notwithstanding desperate efforts, cut off by the new English colony of New York from her share of the receding trade. The earlier Dutch, Swedish and English settlements along the coasts of the middle colonies had been made in large part on account of the fur trade, and had drawn much of their sustenance from it. The history of the fur trade in these early settlements is much the same as is found to the north and south of them.[3] By the time of the consolidation of all these middle colonies in English hands, however, the beaver supply east of the Endless Mountains was practically exhausted, and all the furs came from the tributaries of the Mississippi or the lakes. From this time onward, therefore, the geographical position of Pennsylvania and New York made these colonies the centre of a trade which had reached proportions unheard of before in the English colonies, though the southernmost English colonies retained a fair share. Albany was far the best situated English town in America for this trade, and it enjoyed the largest part. But the tireless efforts of the Pennsylvania traders under far greater handicaps secured to them even in this period a trade which was great and growing. The

[1] For some account of the Indian trade in New England, and its importance there, see Note A at the end of this chapter, page xxviii.

[2] For the southern trade, see Note B at the end of this chapter, page xxxii.

[3] Many evidences of the importance of the trade in these colonies are to be found in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xii, and elsewhere.

shifting of the field of the trade had consequences of the greatest international importance. It led to that competition for the interior, for its trade, and for alliances with its Indians, which plays so great a part in the great struggle of France and England for this continent, in many respects the most momentous struggle in our history.

Conrad Weiser reported to the Commissioners at Albany in 1754 that Pennsylvania traders had been going to the Allegheny for over thirty years, and the Indians admitted this.[1] Before the interruption caused by the Seven Years' War, Dr. William Clarke estimated the number of these traders from Pennsylvania at 300.[2] In 1730 it was reported from Canada "that in the country round Lake Erie the English are found scattered as far as the sea, trading with the Chaouenons, the Miamis and the Onyatanous."[3] Many of these traders, no doubt, came from Albany, but Pennsylvania and Carolina were also represented. In the next few years their numbers and their success became a menace to the French posts at Detroit and elsewhere in the region, as is clearly indicated in the memoirs of the French commandants. Some drastic steps were seen to be necessary or the whole trade would be drawn away by the higher prices of the English traders. "The English have been coming For a Number Of years to corrupt the Savages Within the Sphere of This Post," wrote De Noyan from Detroit in 1741, "and I Have resolved to have them pillaged. I will Begin by sending Them a Summons."[4]

The increase of the English traders and their trade soon convinced the French that the trade of the whole interior, and with it all their Indian alliances and their very existence there were in the gravest danger. Nothing less than the complete with-

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 872, 876.

[2] *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French* (London, 1755), p. 10. In 1747 M. Vaudreuil wrote a letter, speaking of the Ohio — "où les Anglois ont d'anciens Etablissemens & où ils ont de Magazins depuis long tems." *Chatham Papers* (MSS. in P. R. O.), xcv, No. 13. A great number of references to the trade are to be found in the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* and *Archives*.

[3] *Mich. Pioneer Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, pp. 75–76.

[4] De Noyan to the Minister, August 24, 1741, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvii, p. 358.

drawal of all English traders from the western country could avert it.[1] But the western country was now the sole source of the fur supply, and a withdrawal was impossible and never considered for a moment. For fifteen years or more before Washington's skirmish on the Chestnut Ridge, it was evident that this competition for the trade and alliances of the interior must soon result in actual war, and for much of that time the "pillaging" of traders was little better than war. Again and again the Indians were ordered by the French "to extirpate all English traders" west of the mountains.[2] In many cases these orders were carried out. In 1751 Jonquière had four English traders seized near the Ohio and sent prisoners to Canada.[3] The place most hated was the English trading post of Pickawillany on the Miami River, which by 1751 had become "one of the greatest Indian towns of the West, the center of English trade and influence, and a capital object of French jealousy," a town of some two thousand people, with a fortified trading house where sometimes as many as fifty English traders could be found at one time.[4] No other place save Oswego was so hated by the French. It must be destroyed or French influence was gone in the whole interior. The dispatches of Joncaire, and the journal of Céloron, show that the cheaper goods of the English had already had their effect. It is no wonder that the first open blow fell on Pickawillany. The Seven Years' War is usually said to have been begun in 1754, with the skirmish of Washington and Jumonville on the Chestnut Ridge. It had become inevitable long before. The contest for the interior had been a covert war for years. There is much reason in the contention of George Chalmers that

[1] Raymond to the Minister, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvii, pp. 474–477.

[2] *Chatham Papers* (MSS. in P. R. O.), xcv, No. 13. In 1749 such orders were given, and many were killed. In 1751 and 1752 orders were again given by Vaudreuil for the extirpation of the English in the Illinois country, on La Belle Rivière, the Cherokee River, and elsewhere. See the journal of Christopher Gist, pp. 1750–1751, edited by William M. Darlington (Pittsburgh, 1893), pp. 34–35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45.

[3] Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, i, p. 72. See *Gist's Journal* (ed. Darlington), pp. 44–45.

[4] Moreau, *A Memorial*, etc., p. 62; *Gist's Journal*, edited by Darlington, pp. 47–48; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i, pp. 52–56, 82–83.

that war really began at Pickawillany in 1752.[1] In the beginning it was a war of trade, and when it became something more, the chief brunt first fell on traders, not settlers.[2]

The remarkable answers of Franklin in 1766, to the questions of the Commons' Committee on these points cannot be ignored, — "As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors, and correspondents, had erected there to secure that trade. Braddock was sent with an army to retake that fort (which was looked on here as another encroachment on the King's territory), and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat, that the Colonies were attacked. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not, therefore, sent for their defence. . . . The Indian trade is a British interest; it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers, therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the Crown the property of no American and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war." [3] Allowance must be made for such statements urged as an argument for the repeal of the Stamp Act, but there is much truth in them nevertheless. It is true that the struggle for the interior — "essentially a competition for the fur trade," as Parkman truly styles it — had developed into a mighty armed conflict for a continent. But its beginnings are here stated truly. Clearly it was not alone intercolonial jealousy, nor inconsistent claims to territory, nor Quaker indifference — bad as that was, that kept the colonies and their assemblies from entering the contest with more enthusiasm. Some recent statements on these points must be revised.[4] Justin

[1] *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, ii, pp. 263–264.

[2] Doddridge in his *Notes* says that in Pontiac's Conspiracy the fury of the Indians first fell upon the traders, of whom nearly 120 were killed (p. 217).

[3] *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Smyth's ed.), iv, p. 439.

[4] So far as this was a struggle between England and France, it was a struggle which began in the west to control the trade. This explains in large measure the

Winsor's view that Pennsylvania's share in this trade west of the mountains was considerable and constantly increasing during the

apathy of the colonies. But it does not wholly account for the attitude of the Indians on the Ohio. One great reason why they consented to take up the hatchet against the English undoubtedly was that they feared the encroachment of English settlers who would drive them from their hunting grounds. This the French never ceased to impress upon the Indians. Céloron in 1749 urged it at every conference. The argument was both true and eventually effective. In 1751 Christopher Gist found the Delawares of Ohio all favorable to the English, and also the Shawnees and the Twightwees or Miamis, the most numerous and powerful tribe in that country. *Gist's Journal*, in Pownall's *Topographical Description*, Appendix, pp. 10–11; in Darlington's edition *passim*. Certainly Céloron in 1749 found them anything but friendly to the French. Journal in *Catholic Historical Researches*, ii and iii *passim*. By 1754 all this was strikingly changed. The Indians were impressed by the energy of the French and the inactivity of the English. The destruction of Pickawillany was undoubtedly very effective also. Such acts accompanied by the fear instilled by the French that the English settlers would drive them from their hunting grounds finally turned the Indians to the French side. The arguments of the French were rendered convincing to Delawares and Shawnees by their own earlier experience of the English settlers in the Juniata Valley, and they were corroborated by the very English traders themselves, rival traders often asserting to the Indians with incredible fatuity that their competitors were only land agents in disguise. "We are told," says a writer in 1755, "that the present *French* invasion had its rise from the *Ohio* company's building the store-house at *Will's Creek*. For the *Indian* trade, which before was carried on with *Pensylvania* by the river *Susquehanna*, was by means of that store-house and a waggon-road, opened thro' the country, carried into *Virginia* by way of the *Potomak:* that the *Pensylvania* traders considering this as an injury done to them, in revenge infused jealousies into the minds of the *Indians*, that the *English* were going clandestinely to seize their lands: that the clamor among the *Indians* alarmed the *French:* and that the building the fort on the *Ohio* confirming the information which they had received of the grant, they in resentment joined with the *French* to defeat the *English* designs. This is the account given by some who were acquainted with the whole transaction." *State of the British and French Colonies*, p. 115. The explanation here given is absurd, for we know the Indians repeatedly begged the English to build forts in the neighborhood, but the facts are no doubt in large part truly stated. Withers in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare* says, "French influence, united to the known jealousy of the Natives, would have been unavailingly exerted to array the Indians against Virginia, at the commencement of Braddock's war, but for the proceedings of the Ohio company, and the fact that the Pennsylvania traders represented the object of that association to be purely territorial." (Thwaites's ed., pp. 147–148.) To these causes of the Indian defection must be added another, however, — the character of the English traders, "the most abandon'd Wretches in the World," as Dinwiddie called them. Dinwiddie's Records, *Va. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, N. S., iv, p. 340. He even charges them with being French spies, and Christian Frederick Post believed they were. The Indians on the Ohio reported to Post in 1758 that they had been informed by "one of our greatest Traders, and some Justices of the Peace," that "'the *English*

first half of the eighteenth century [1] seems better supported by

intend to destroy us and take our Lands.' " Post's Journal in Thomson's *Enquiry*, pp. 153, 161. To such statements Post replied " My Brothers, I know you have been wrongly persuaded by many wicked People; for you must know, there are a great many Papists in the Country in *French* Interest, who appear like Gentlemen, and have sent many runaway *Irish* Papists Servants among you, who have put bad Notions into your Heads, and strengthened you against your Brothers the *English*." *Ibid.*, p. 156. See also p. 162 for another statement to the same effect. Thomson in a note to this speech adds: " The *Indian* Traders used to buy the transported *Irish* and other Convicts as Servants, to be employed in carrying up the Goods among the *Indians:* Many of those ran away from their Masters and joined the *Indians*. The ill Behaviour of these People has always hurt the Character of the *English* among the *Indians*." *Enquiry*, p. 156, note. It is possible that the unscrupulous methods of rival traders of the lowest character, many of whom were undoubtedly Irishmen, when reported by the Indians, gave rise to Post's belief that these men were really in the French pay. It seems much more probable, however, that cupidity rather than religion, was the motive behind the actions of such exconvicts, and " abandoned wretches." The annals of the fur trade at all times and in all places are full of the unspeakable methods of these creatures, and all contemporary writers ascribe the hatred of the Indians for the white man to the abuses practised by them. The English had a little more than their share of such characters among their traders, and Pennsylvania probably had her full proportion of these. The opportunities of the trade, carried on as it was with a semi-barbarous race naturally attracted such characters, as such work always does. The early Spanish treatment of the Indians in the islands of the Gulf of Mexico is similar, and unfortunately we have no lack of parallels even today in the mad hunt for rubber, which in some ways strongly resembles the earlier fur trade, and like it sets off the white man's cupidity against the savage's ignorance, with a resulting cruelty and fatuity that seem very familiar to any one who has read the annals of our early fur traders. It seems probable, however, that the circulation among the Indians of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio of stories that English traders were land agents in disguise was induced merely by a desire on the part of individual English traders to injure others, an effective argument, and heightened always, of course, by the continued insistence on the same point by the French. English traders by such action might easily render themselves open to such suspicion as Post's and Thomson's, that they were really French emissaries, but their motives it seems to me are better to be explained by the unscrupulous methods of the trade. In 1774 Lord Dunmore complained: " The Traders in General are composed of the most worthless Subjects, such as fail in all other occupations, and become in a manner outcasts of Society. These Men, we have full proof, have made it their constant business to discredit the Virginians (who lye much more convenient for carrying on a Trade with these Indians than the Pennsylvanians) and make the Indians consider them in the most odious light." *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, ed. by Thwaites and Kellogg, p. 391.

For much information on the Pennsylvania trade, see *The Wilderness Trail*, by Charles A. Hanna (1911), esp. ii, chapter ix.

[1] *The Mississippi Basin*, chapter xiv. In 1774 Lord Dunmore wrote to the

the contemporary evidence of the latter part of that period than Parkman's opinion that the English trade practically all went to Albany.[1] Mr. Beer's contention that the English trade as a whole at this time was losing in proportion to the French is based on alarmist English statements that the French were "engrossing" the trade.[2] Such statements are to be found at all periods, but the even more numerous and more pessimistic reports of the French commandants at all the posts show, I think, that the reverse was true.[3] It was the fashion among earlier historians of this period to ascribe all this rivalry to a competition for territory, a hunger for land, and this is unfortunately still done. Contemporary documents show that, so far as the English government was concerned, this is a mistake. It was trade rather than land. Some recent writers, however, in their reaction from this erroneous view, have, it is to be feared, somewhat underestimated the importance of settlement in its influence on French and English rivalry, expecially in certain parts of the country.[4] In New York, it is true, Indian relations at this time and Indian trade are practically convertible terms, and New York was far more important in this respect than any other colony. It was a colony with only a small farming population, in which the westward movement began at a relatively late date. The Indians there were not driven from their homes by the glacial movement of a numerous and expanding community. But compare these conditions with those of Pennsylvania at this time, and for some time after. There the agricultural land was smaller in area and the population was larger. The rich broad valleys of the east

Earl of Dartmouth, "The trade carried on with the Ohio Indians has been almost engrossed by the Province of Pennsylvania." *The Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 391.

[1] *Half Century of Conflict*, i, p. 263.

[2] *The Commercial Policy of England toward the American Colonies* (*Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, iii, No. 2), pp. 61–62.

[3] For example, a letter from Raudot, Jr., in 1708 "Detroit has brought the savages only too near the English. Almost all the beaver skins produced go to Orange, and we see hardly any here from that post." *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 395. If the English had not been cutting into the French trade in the Ohio valley, the Seven Years' War would hardly have broken out there.

[4] *E.g.*, Mr. Alden's *New Governments West of the Alleghanies Before 1780*, Madison, Wisconsin (1897).

were already occupied, while new masses of hardy agriculturists were rapidly pouring in from Ulster and elsewhere. There was no place to go but the frontier, and very soon they began to encroach on the lovely hunting grounds of the Juniata Valley and beyond. It is significant that while the Tuscaroras were added to the Iroquois in New York, the Delawares and Shawnees were pushed beyond the mountains in Pennsylvania. It was no accident that the tribes on the Ohio took the side of France in the Seven Years' War, and it was not the superiority of the French traders alone that made them do so. Those Indians after much wavering then allied themselves with the nation whose settlements never threatened their hunting grounds. In the Revolution, it was not mainly the abuses of trade which ranged the Indians against the Americans, as Lecky says,[1] important as those undoubtedly were; in fact many of the traders were not Americans. It was chiefly against the encroaching settler that they fought, and he was an American, while the policy of the home government always aimed at the trade. The clashing of these interests had much to do also with colonial disaffection in some places. The fact has been noted that certain religious bodies were almost entirely on the side of independence, while others were much less so.[2] It is not without significance that the Presbyterian body had so much of its strength in a country where the trading policy of the home government prevented the agricultural occupation of the land. The statement of Professor Turner is admirable: "The American colonists came to know that the land was worth more than the beaver that built in the streams, but the mother country fought for the Northwest as the field of Indian trade in all the wars from 1689 to 1812."[3] In some parts of the country they came to know it, perforce, earlier than in others, and Pennsylvania was one of the earliest. So soon as they did, a feeling of opposition to the trading policy of the English government was inevitable. It certainly existed

[1] *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (Am. ed.), iii, p. 321.

[2] *E. g.*, by W. E. Dodd, in *American Historical Review*, xviii, pp. 522 *et seq.*

[3] *The Indian Trade of Wisconsin*, p. 70. (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 9th Series, vols. 11–12.)

before the Seven Years' War, and Franklin's celebrated statement in 1766 is inexplicable except in light of it. After the war the policy was the same. Bouquet at Fort Pitt refused to allow the occupation of the land.[1] The celebrated Proclamation of 1763 is an outgrowth of it.[2] That can only be understood if we remember *both* the government's policy and the steady extension of the settlements. The letters, printed and unprinted, of Sir William Johnson at this critical period, the letters of George Croghan, the Minutes of the Indian treaties, the Pennsylvania *Colonial Records*, are all full of this "irrepressible conflict." The land cession of 1754, the treaty of Easton and other treaties are due to it. The Indian line of 1768, is an expedient to prevent a recurrence of disturbances like Pontiac's Conspiracy.[3] Dunmore's War [4] and the frontier part of the Revolution [5] are all influenced by this clash of policies and interests. Any one who looks carefully at the location of the Indian line of 1768 will see there graphically represented the essential difference between New York and the lands south of it. The problems were wholly different. In the north it was trade and its abuses and their regulation; in the south it was trade *versus* land. The second of these problems was the more serious because it was ultimately soluble in one way only — by the complete victory of the settler. But to admit this to the Indian was to lose his influence everywhere. It was the most difficult of all Johnson's problems, and there is evidence that he saw both sides of it, and comprehended its enormous difficulty and its great importance. Naturally as Indian superintendent, his inclinations lay on the side of trade, as he was a part of the machinery of a government which looked to that side almost exclusively.[6] It is certainly

[1] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1889, pp. 72–77.

[2] C. W. Alvord, *Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763;* C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, especially chs. 2 and 6; G. H. Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies Before 1780*, ch. 3; Victor Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, ch. 6.

[3] C. W. Alvord, *The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 165 *et seq.*

[4] *The Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, Introduction.

[5] Thwaites and Kellogg, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908).

[6] *American Historical Association Reports*, 1894, p. 427. Shelburne declared in

true, as Professor Turner has shown, that the proposals of Vergennes at the time of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 were dictated by his desire for the Indian trade, and that Shelburne's concession can be understood only in the light of it,[1] and Professor McLaughlin's contention is indisputable, that the sole aim of Great Britain in retaining posts in the interior was this trade.[2]

1775, " The peltry or skin trade is a matter which I presume to affirm is of the last importance to the trade and commerce of the colonies and this country. The regulation of this business has cost His Majesty's ministers more time and trouble than any one matter I know of." *Parliamentary History*, xviii, 673, quoted by Coffin, *The Province of Quebec*, p. 407, note 2.

" The student of the period [about 1763] knows well that with the word '*Indian*' must be read the additional term '*Indian trade*,' and that with this addition the Indian question assumed an important place in the general colonial trade system," Coffin, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[1] *The Indian Trade of Wisconsin*, p. 45.

[2] *American Historical Association Reports*, 1894, pp. 413 *et seq.* Many letters showing the attitude of Johnson and others toward the questions of trade and settlement written by Croghan, Gage, Colden, Hillsborough and others to Johnson, and his letters to them, are to be found in volume ii, of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, and in the *New York Colonial Documents*, vols. vii and viii. The following extracts from letters now or formerly in the *Johnson MSS.*, illustrate the same points: " The Lower order of people settled about the frontiers imagining I presume that they had nothing to apprehend since the removal of our European Enemys, began by Overreaching and defrauding the Indians, they proceed to personal Insults and Murders in time of peace, under pretence of Retaliation for Injuries sustained during the heat of a furious War, — Many unjust practices were made use of in different Quarters to deprive them of their properties, and a Number of persons in defiance of Justice & policy, & contrary to the Express Orders of Government established themselves on the Ind[a] Lands within & about the Frontiers of Pennsilvania & cet and altho' many Steps were taken for their removal they have hitherto proved ineffectual. — In the Mean time the Indians irritated at the Murders committed on the frontiers, at the Insults their parties repeatedly met with, the Ill treatment of the Tuscaroras who were called to Joyn them from Carolina, & the barbarity Exercised on the Unhappy Conestoga Indians, as well as the Unjustifiable Settlements formed within their Country without the Least colour of right, unless the Seduction of a few Drunken Delawares whose Nation have no pretensions thereto can be admitted as such, began to consider amongst themselves what was best to be done, and from an Apprehension that such Conduct would not have been permitted by us who are Governd by Laws, unless we intended to put in practice a plan for Surrounding and Destroying them of which they have been long Suspicious, and which they are still taught to believe by many interested French among them. They resolved to commit Acts of hostility & by beginning a War against us to Check those Settlements of which they became apprehensive." From a letter dated January 22, 1768, from Sir William Johnson

While settlement had been pushing its slow but certain way across the mountains to the Ohio, Indian trade had spread over

to Joseph Galloway, speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly. *Johnson MSS.*, xv, p. 24c.

"By my Letter from the Secy of State by the last pacquet I find that his Majesty declines to the large Cession of that part of Ohio extending to the Cherokee River, & would have it given up to the Ind[s], as a proof of his regard, for my part I could not forsee any ill consequences or impropriety in getting from the Northern Nations all their Claims in that Quarter. If it had never been done the Virginians would nevertheless have pushed settlements there, at present I must manage the affair the best way I can, by making the Surrender of that part of the Cession the effect of his Majestys regard for their interests, but should the Virginians after it is declined by the Crown, begin Settlements upon it the Indians will think Strangely of the Affair & it may create trouble." From a letter of Sir William Johnson to General Gage, dated March 22, 1769. *Johnson MSS.*, xvii, p. 101.

"I am favored with your Letter of the third Instant and am entirely of your opinion as to the conduct which may be expected from the frontier Inhabitants particularly the Virginians — I was sensible that they were about to push Settlements & would do so in Virtue of their old Claim That of the Cherokees I had great reason to think could not be made out, but in case one Set of Indians were to be disobliged, I judged it least dangerous that it Sho[d] be them than the Northern Indians who are more capable of showing their resentment, & more inclined to do so, besides I thought that whatever pretensions the former might now have, it could easily be settled to their Satisfaction. I am very Sensible that the Frontier people will meet with but too much encouragement from persons in the provinces, and that whatever Laws are made will fail in the Execution for reasons that are obvious, but I am at present most concerned as to the additional Cession from the Orders I have to acquaint the Indians in the best manner I can that his Majesty declines it thro' regard for their interest, after which if Settlements are nevertheless made on it I leave you to Judge of what may be the Consequences with regard to the Indians. I should therefore be glad to have your opinion whether under these Circumstances (with which the Government may not be acquainted) it is safe, till we hear farther, to Signify to them his Majesty's declining it to the Indians." From a letter dated April 14, 1769, from Sir William Johnson to General Gage, *Johnson MSS.*, xvii, p. 122.

"I thought, & so did every body that the Cession should be as Extensive as possible, & I believe it is almost needless to say that the more we get Voluntarily from them the Less danger there would be of disputes about Settlements, & the farther they would be removed. The back Inhabitants particularly of Virginia, I well knew were not to be prevented from extending their settlements into the Indian Country, had the Treaty never taken place, the danger in which such a proceedure must Involve the frontiers, could only be prevented by the purchase of that Country, but this was not all, Virginia Claimed it in Virtue of an Old purchase under the sanction of the Crown, and the only objection his Majesty made to it in his Orders to me, were founded on a Supposition that it was claimed by, & would occasion disputes with the Cherokees, as I knew that this was not the Case. . . . I know my Conduct therein to be irreproachable, & not only for the best, but actually was the

half the continent. Its most important characteristic from the international point of view was the enormous area necessary for it. This was true from its very beginning, as we have seen.[1] The fur trade was in fact America's " conservation " problem in the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note how many points of similarity there are between our own conditions and this trade, with the rules for its regulation and the evasion of them. Questions of monopoly, of government licenses, geographical allotment, the struggle between advocates of a centralized or decentralized control, and many others, have a very

best that co[d] have been done at that time, and where I took such Extraordinary pains both Night & Day for effecting so difficult & Important a business I cannot but think it hard should the Government omit doing Justice to my proceedings, of the propriety of which I think Myself a Competent Judge." From a letter of Sir William Johnson to General Gage, dated August 9, 1769. *Johnson MSS.*, xvii, p. 227.

Johnson considered as equally mistaken the policy of the government in handing back to the several provincial governments the control of the Indian trade. On July 20, 1768, he wrote to Sir Henry Moore:

" Before my return I received Sundry dispatches from the Sec[ty] of State, & amst them a Report of the board of Trade of which doubtless you have a Copy, with an Arrangement which I apprehend proceeded from the representation of the inutility of Commiss[ers] of Trade (according to the plan of the board when Lord Hillsboro' presided at it) from its being in some respects impracticable to Establish them in such a manner as would have Answered the end of their Institution. The Management of the Trade is therefore committed to the Colonies from an Expectation that they have profited by the Experience of former Misconduct which seems to be well known to Government, and which I heartily wish may no longer Exist.

" As I shall carefully avoid invading a province Committed to others I flatter myself there will be no danger of any Interfering or Clashing of Authority, the Concern of Trade being entirely Separated from the Powers & Duties of the Super Intendent over Indian Affairs & Transactions which are distinct in their Nature, and under such peculiar circumstances as to be only executed by an Officer on the part of the Crown on one Uniform & General System according to the repeated Sense of Government. Whatever Matters require the Provinces to be consulted it shall be done, and as in these & all other particulars I never did, nor ever shall Lose sight of the General Intention of my Appointment, so I shall direct my Care, Influence & Experience to the General Good at the same time that I shall be always happy in Serving the Interests of this Province." *Johnson MSS.*, xvi, p. 113.

[1] *Ante*, p. xiv. In 1684 the Indian orator whom Colden, following La Hontan, calls Garangula, says the Five Nations had made war on the western Indians because " They have hunted Bevers on our Lands: They have acted contrary to the Customs of all Indians; for they left none of the Bevers alive, they killed both Male and Female." Colden (1902), i, p. 69. See also Pownall, *Administration of the Colonies* (4th ed.), p. 260.

familiar look; but the beaver steadily disappeared. A careful study of the whole fur trade from this and other economic aspects is a *desideratum.*

Had there been real " conservation " of the beaver, and effective regulation of the trade in furs, the area necessary would have extended rapidly, but when to the ordinary economic demand was added the fact that trade was also a means of political alliance with the Indian tribes and almost a weapon of international warfare, the extension became a political object to be attained at all hazards. The object was to get the trade; it made less difference whether the furs were needed or not. In the earlier days they were not always all needed, and we find the French company in Canada burning thousands of skins to prevent a glut of the market.[1] No wonder the beaver had to be pursued to the ends of the earth.

Not merely international policy, but also individual rivalry tended to the same result. In the English provinces it was province against province, leading them to pass severe laws against interlopers. In a single province it was individual competition of the cut-throat variety, as vividly illustrated at Albany[2] and everywhere else. In Canada a monopoly existed theoretically, but in practice almost the whole male population, including the very priests and the government officials, drew their living from a continuous and wholesale evasion of the rules of the company and the laws of the colony and the mother country intended to limit the trade.[3] Such methods of competition, such

[1] The French hat-makers, in whose interest Canada was exploited at the opening of the eighteenth century, refused to accept more skins than they needed; the Canadian company, on the other hand, were not permitted by the government either to refuse skins when offered by the Indians or to pay a price low enough to turn the supply to Albany. The Company was required to buy at a fixed price all the skins offered, and then destroy them in the presence of an officer of the government. The Company soon became bankrupt, of course, and the effect in augmenting the illicit trade and the extinction of the beaver may be imagined. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, ii, pp. 413–415. *Report on Canadian Archives*, Supp. 1899, p. 141.

[2] *Post*, p. liii.

[3] " All that was most active and vigorous in the colony took to the woods . . . and more than once the colony presented the extraordinary spectacle of the greater part of its young men turned into forest outlaws. . . . Neither threats nor blan-

eagerness to " engross the trade " have never been seen on this continent since. The extinction of the beaver, and the consequent rapid extension of the field of trade inevitably followed. This naturally led, for one thing, to a centralized regulation of the trade after the Seven Years' War. But so long as both England and France were here it was this very competition which so vastly enlarged the designs and counter designs of the two contending powers, and it also had no little part in extending the actual field of military operations whenever their contention reached the stage of open war.

dishments were of much avail. We hear of seigniories abandoned; farms turning again into forests; wives and children left in destitution." Parkman, *Old Régime*, pp. 359–360. Edict after edict was issued without avail (*e. g.*, *Edits et Ordonnances*, i, p. 75). The very officers who were to execute these laws often had an interest in the forbidden traffic (cf. *Report on Canadian Archives*, Supp. 1899, p. 122). Besides, legally or illegally, these outlaws had the fur trade largely in their hands, and if forced by too severe measures to take their furs to the English, Canada might be lost to France. Hence the statutes alternated between strictest severity and complete pardon (*e. g.*, *Edits et Ordonnances*, i, p. 330), with the result that the offenders usually remained away in the woods for years at a time, knowing that the edicts against them would eventually be followed by an amnesty, Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 360. But notwithstanding such measures of reconciliation many of the furs of these adventurers found their way to Albany. See a Mémoir of Bégon of September 20, 1713 in *Wisconsin Historical Collection*, xvi, pp. 295 *et seq.* There are many others like it.

Note A. (To page xv.)

The Fur Trade in New England

As early as September, 1621, the Plymouth settlers made an expedition to Massachusetts Bay, " and brought home a good quanty of beaver." Bradford, *History of Plimouth Plantation* (1898), p. 126; *Mourt's Relation*, Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 483. They promised the Indians to come again. Winslow, *Good News from New England*, Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 521. This they were enabled to do by buying Indian goods in 1622 from a ship which had come to trade (Bradford, p. 153), and " had good store of trade." Winslow, *Good News from New England*, Arber, *op. cit.*, pp. 521, 526. The same author wrote, " Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant, by trade with the Indians for furs; if men take a right course for obtaining the same. For I dare presume, upon that small experience I have had, to affirm, that the English, Dutch, and French return yearly many thousand pounds profits by trade only, from that island on which we are seated." *Ibid.*, p. 595.

In 1623 Thomas Weston came from Wessagussett on Massachusetts Bay to Plymouth, asking for help. He was answered that " they had not much bever, & if they should let him have it, it were enoughe to make a mutinie among y^e^ people,

seeing ther was no other means to procure them foode which they so much wanted, & cloaths allso." They promised, however, to help him secretly, and " let him have 100 beaver-skins, which waighed 170^{li}. odd pounds." Bradford, p. 161. In 1625 an expedition to the Kennebec resulted in their getting " 700^{li}. of beaver, besids some other furrs," and they sent to England that year 800 weight of beaver besides other furs. *Ibid.*, pp. 244, 246–247. In 1626 the Plymouth people bought from European traders at Monhegan Indian goods amounting to £400, and had great success in trading with them. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–252. The colony was poor and was heavily mortgaged to the company. Without the fur trade it would hardly have been possible for the settlers to pay their debt to the company. One thing that made this harder was the difficulty in getting goods for the Indian trade. Some were had from passing ships, at high prices, or from vessels trading along the Maine coast, but the scarcity of goods alone prevented the Indian trade from assuming large proportions. In 1627 this was in part remedied. The Dutch at New York wrote to Plymouth, desiring to exchange their Indian goods for New England furs. *Ibid.*, p. 269. They came the next year and brought the first knowledge of wampum (*ibid.*, pp. 281–282), one of the most fortunate things possible, for the wampum alone secured to the Plymouth men a great trade on the Kennebec, and enabled them later to keep it, to the disadvantage of Boston and the great annoyance of the French, whose trade was much affected by it. From this time the Plymouth fur trade increased by leaps and bounds, mainly on account of wampum; 400 weight of beavers, besides some otter, in 1631, 1348 in 1632, 3366 in 1633, 3738 in 1634, 1150 in 1635 and 2528 in 1636; the beaver alone in these six years amounting to " little less then 10000^{li}." *Ibid.*, pp. 412–413. The Pilgrim fathers, says Mr. Biggar, " gradually usurped the territory where the French had formerly traded." *Early Trading Companies*, p. 130. This he says, " limited considerably the area open to the French traders on the Atlantic coast " (p. 119). It can hardly be said that such a trade was " unimportant " to a little colony of a few hundred souls. But the most marked characteristic of the Indian trade is here apparent, the rapid extinction of the beaver. At Plymouth the trade began to fall away again as early as 1635. New beaver country must be tapped, and the men of Plymouth began that march westward deeper and deeper into the Indian country which has been such a factor in our history.

As the beaver decreased, and the settlers increased, competition for trade became keener, involving the Plymouth colonists, the newly-established Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the scattered traders unconnected with either. One of these traders, Thomas Morton, no friend of the Puritan settlers at the Bay, has left in his *New English Canaan* a most interesting and lively account of the trade and his controversies with the Bostonians arising out of it.

" The skinnes " [of the beaver], he says, " are the best merchantable commodity that can be found, to cause ready money to be brought into the land, now that they are raised to 10 shillings a pound. A servant of mine in 5. yeares was thought to have a 1000. p. in ready gold gotten by beaver when hee dyed; whatsoever became of it " (p. 78). " And I beleeve," he says in another place, " that Jasons golden Fleece was either the same, or some other Fleece not of so much value " (p. 149). He intimates that the opposition to him at Merrymount was due to the fear that " hee would hinder the benefit of their Beaver trade," as he had done on the Kennebec before (pp. 149, 137). This is probably in great part true. It is worth

noting that the orgies with the Indians at Merrymount which so horrified the Boston people were a customary and successful means of promoting the trade everywhere on the continent. Morton is another witness to the great area covered by this trade at a very early period. He describes the Lake of the Iroquois out of which he, in common with the other New England settlers, believed the Potomac flowed. "About the parts of this Lake may be made a very greate Commodity by the trade of furres, to inrich those that shall plant there; a more compleat discovery of those parts is, (to my knowleadge,) undertaken by Henry Joseline, Esquier, sonne of Sir Thomas Ioseline of Kent, Knight, by the approbation and appointment of that Heroick a very good Common wealths man Captaine John Mason, Esquier, a true foster Father and lover of vertue, (who at his owne chardge,) hath fitted Master Joseline and imployed him to that purpose; who no doubt will performe as much as is expected, if the Dutch, (by gettinge into those parts before him,) doe not frustrate his so hopefull and laudable designes. It is well knowne they aime at this place, and have a possibility to attaine unto the end of their desires therein, by meanes of the River of Mohegan, which of the English is named Hudsons River, where the Dutch have setled two well fortified plantations already. If that River be derived from the Lake, as our Country man in his prospect affirmes it to be, and if they get and fortifie this place also, they will gleane away the best of the Beaver both from the French and the English, who have hitherto lived wholely by it; and very many old planters have gained good estates out of small beginnings by meanes thereof. And it is well knowne to some of our Nation that have lived in the Dutch plantation that the Dutch have gained by Beaver 20000. pound a yeare" (pp. 98–99). Farther to the north, the grants and attempted settlements were purely commercial and largely actuated by hope of gain by the Indian trade. See *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, edited by J. P. Baxter (Prince Society), i, pp. 207, 211, 217, 218, 232–233; ii, p. 42.

By 1633 the receding of the beaver country made it necessary for the Plymouth settlers to seek new supplies. They had heard from Dutch and Indians and the Rhode Island people of great trade to be had on the Fresh or Connecticut River (Bradford, pp. 370–372), "and having now good store of comodities, and allso need to looke out wher they could advantage them selves to help them out of their great ingagments, they now begane to send that way to discover y^e^ same, and trade with y^e^ natives." *Ibid.* But this was a rather hazardous undertaking for so small a settlement, so they sent Winslow and Bradford to Boston to propose a joint expedition. This was refused ostensibly on account of the danger of navigating the Connecticut (Winthrop, *History of New England* (1908), i, p. 103), and the Plymouth men were forced to act alone, sending "a bark to Connecticut, at this time, to erect a trading house there. When they came, they found the Dutch had built there, and did forbid the Plymouth men to proceed; but they set up their house notwithstanding, about a mile above the Dutch." *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110. Bradford reports the results to have been disappointing, but they saw "y^e^ most certainty would be by keeping a house ther, to receive y^e^ trad when it came down out of y^e^ inland" p. 371. It could not have been a total failure, as "It pleased y^e^ Lord to inable them this year to send home a great quantity of beaver," 3,366 pounds in all (*ibid.*, p. 375). The clear statements of Bradford and Winthrop show beyond doubt that the prime purpose of all this Connecticut enterprise was to intercept the Indians coming from the interior with their furs by way of the Connecticut, and the

Dutch were unlikely to be much mollified by Bradford's pious protestations that "They did y^e^ Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foote of any land they bought, but went to y^e^ place above them!" *Ibid.*, p. 374. The previous refusal of the Boston people to join this expedition was equally ingenuous. In July they rejected that proposal *on account of the difficulty of navigating the Connecticut.* In October Winthrop makes this entry in describing the Connecticut: "This river runs so far northward, that it comes within a days journey of a part of Merrimack called . . . and so runs thence N. W. so near the Great Lake, as [allows] the Indians to pass their canoes into it over land. From this lake, and the hideous swamps about it, come most of the beaver which is traded between Virginia and Canada, which runs forth of this lake; and Patomack River in Virginia comes likewise out of it, or very near, so as from this lake there comes yearly to the Dutch about ten thousand skins, *which might easily be diverted by Merrimack*, if a course of trade were settled above in that river." *History of New England*, i, p. 110. Comment is unnecessary. There is abundant evidence of the importance of the fur trade in Massachusetts Bay. See, for example, *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, i, pp. 48, 96, 196, 322; iii, pp. 53–54, 208; iv, pt. i, pp. 291–292; pt. ii, pp. 397–400, etc. For many of these references I am indebted to a MS. thesis on the Indian Policy in New England, submitted for the degree of Master of Letters in the University of Wisconsin, by A. C. Shong.

Just as the Plymouth people cut off the Dutch on the Connecticut, so in time they themselves were affected by settlements higher up the stream. Edward Johnson's statement, written about 1654, in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, explains itself. "About this time [1645] one Mr. *Pinchin*, sometime a Magistrate, having out of desire to better his estate, by trading with the *Indians*, setled himself very remote (from all the Churches of Christ in the *Mattachusets* Government) upon the river of Canectico, yet under their Government, he having some godly persons resorting unto them, they there erected a Town and Church of Christ, calling it Springfield, it lying upon this large navigable river, hath the benefit of transporting their goods by water, and also fitly seated for a Bever trade with the Indians, till the Merchants encreased so many, that it became little worth, by reason of their outbuying one another, which hath caused them to live upon husbandry" (p. 199).

One of the main factors in the forming of the New England Confederacy is the Indian trade, the necessity of pushing it by united effort against the Dutch and the danger of war resulting therefrom. Pynchon's trading house at Springfield was peculiarly annoying to the Dutch. In 1647 the directors wrote, urging Stuyvesant to prevent the English locating there "by all means, which your Honor does not consider too dangerous, to involve us in a war with the English." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiv, p. 77. In 1650 Stuyvesant complained bitterly to the New England Confederacy that through the high price paid by Pynchon for beaver, the trade was "much damnified and undervallued." Hazard's *Historical Collections*, ii, p. 155. The Confederation refused to interfere. *Ibid.*, p. 159. The governor of Canada tried to make capital of this trade jealousy of the English and Dutch, proposing that the New Englanders should allow a French force to attack the Iroquois by way of New England, and promising in return a free trade between the French and English. The New Englanders shrewdly answered that they were not anxious to be admitted to any trade which is so hampered as the French. *Ibid.*, pp. 182–184. The records of the meetings of the New England Confederacy in Hazard's second

volume will dispel any idea of the unimportance of the fur trade to New Englanders. In 1649 they forbade all foreigners from trading with the Indians in New England, and the Dutch records are full of similar provisions. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii, p. 108; O'Callaghan, *Laws of New Netherland*, pp. 13–15, 507, etc. Notwithstanding these prohibitions there was much smuggling of furs to New England. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiv, pp. 159, 471. This clandestine trade was by no means small. Mr. Weeden estimates it at from ten to fifteen thousand beaver skins a year. *Economic and Industrial History of New England*, i, p. 131, citing O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, i, pp. 131, 149, and Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i, p. 397. It was mainly due to " the great importation [into New Netherland] of Wampum from New England, which barters therewith, and carries out of the Country not only the best cargoes sent hence, but also a large quantity of Beaver and other peltries." Letter of the directors to Stuyvesant, O'Callaghan's *Laws of New Netherland*, p. 434, note. It can hardly be said with truth that the commerce with the Indians was " unimportant " in New England.

Note B. (To page xv.)

The Early Fur Trade in the Southern Colonies

As early as 1610 the Virginia settlers record having seen as many as 4000 deer skins " pyled up in one wardroabe of *Powhaton* " (*A True Declaration of Virginia*, Force's *Tracts*, iii, no. 1, p. 13), which could be for nothing but trade; and the statement corroborates the account of the coast trade in these skins to Canada. Captain Henry Fleet, a Maryland trader, writing in 1631, says a rival trader obtained at one time, 1500 weight of beaver near Piscataway (E. D. Neill, *The English Colonization in America*, p. 225), while he himself obtained 800 weight near the site of Washington City (*ibid.*, p. 226), and 4000 lbs. farther back in the interior (p. 229), while the Indians on the Potomac promised him 6000 lbs. the next season, worth £200 (pp. 235–236). And Father Andrew White said that a thirty-fold profit could be made on the Potomac, one merchant alone having shipped beaver skins in one year of the value of 40,000 pieces of gold. Force's *Tracts*, iv, no. 12, p. 6. See also *Virginia Richly and Truly Valued*, Force's *Tracts*, iii, no. 11, p. 52. Hariot also reported that deer skins were " to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yeerely by way of traffick for trifles," *Narrative of the First English Plantation of Virginia* (reprint, London, 1893), p. 17. On the eastern shore of Virginia beaver was used as currency in 1637. Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, ii, p. 521. The account of John Lederer's travels into the interior show the importance of the trade at a later date (1670). *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, edited by Alvord and Bidgood (esp. pp. 162, 169–171). Much of the dissatisfaction in Virginia, which culminated in Bacon's Rebellion, was due to Governor Berkeley's actions and private interests in the Indian trade. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1661–68*, p. 484. The remarkable manifesto of Bacon himself makes this clear. He says in part: " Another main article of our guilt is our design not only to ruin and extirpate all Indians in general, but all manner of trade with them, since the Governor by commission warrants this trade, who dare oppose it, although plantations be deserted, and the blood of our brethren spilt on all sides, our complaints continually murder upon murder. Who dare say that these traders at the heads of the rivers buy and sell our blood, and do still, notwithstanding the

late Act to the contrary. . . . The very foundation of all these disasters is the grant of the beaver trade to the Governor, but to say the grant is illegal, were not this to deserve the name of rebel and traitor." *Ibid.*, *1675–76*, pp. 448–449. The outrageous frauds practised by the traders upon the Indians, which indirectly caused these massacres complained of by Bacon, are vividly described in a pamphlet published in London in 1731, and the Indian war of 1714 is traced to them. *The Importance of the British Plantations in America*, London, 1731, pp. 85–86. It is too evident from Governor Spotswood's letters, written early in the eighteenth century, that he too was interested in this trade. But the inevitable exhaustion of the beaver supply was already carrying the trade west of the mountains, where the competition of the French was keen. Spotswood shows a remarkable knowledge of their operations in the interior and a statesmanlike appreciation of the necessity of controlling the Indians of the interior through their trade by the building of English posts. *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, *Va. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, N. S., i, p. 40; ii, pp. 89, 94, 138, 144–150, 209, 230–238, 296–298, 301–303, 331. William Byrd's delightful *History of the Dividing Line*, written about the same time, is full of references to the Indian trade and its importance. He makes the interesting statement that Virginia traders were trading among the Cherokees far beyond the mountains as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, eighty years before the colony of Georgia "was thought of." i, p. 142. See also i, pp. 179–180, 183–184, where he attributes the Indian war of 1713 to the actions of the traders. This is borne out by other evidence. *A State of Georgia*, Force's *Tracts*, i, no. 3, p. 3. The College of William and Mary was partly supported by export duties on furs. Hening, *Virginia Statutes*, iii, p. 123 (1693); *Preston Papers*, MSS. in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, i, no. 9. The Virginia traders, however, were barred from the western beaver country by the "Endless Mountains," and were forced to go to the Cherokees by way of Georgia, where they were required to take out licenses after the founding of that colony. Byrd, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–142. But the trade was important there long before the founding of Georgia. Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, p. 20. This trade was carried on mainly by English capital, most of the profits returning to England (*The Importance of the British Plantations in America*, p. 66), and it was no small trade. From March, 1730 to March, 1731 there were shipped 300 casks, each containing eight or nine hundred deer skins (*A Description of the Province of South Carolina* (1731); Force's *Tracts*, ii, no. 11, p. 6), and the yearly average was "above 200,000 deer-skins undrest." *Ibid.*, p. 7. When Georgia was founded, Augusta absorbed most of this trade, which was astonishingly great. In 1740, five years after the post was established, there were several warehouses full of Indian goods. The people of the town owned five large boats, which made four or five trips a year to Charleston, each with a cargo of nine or ten thousand pounds, worth from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds sterling. Between Augusta and the interior, 2000 pack horses were needed in 1740, "and the Traders, Packhorse-men, Servants, Townsmen and others, dependent upon that Business, are moderately computed to be six hundred white Men . . . carrying . . . *English* Goods; for which the *Indians* pay in Deer-Skins, Beaver, and other Furs." *A State of Georgia*, Force's *Tracts*, i, no. 3, p. 6. This was the "unimportant" Indian commerce of the little colony of Georgia. The French memoirs furnish evidence of the enormous territory covered by these southern traders. Their influence in the early years of the eighteenth century extended

probably further west than even that of the English and Dutch in New York. As early as 1701 the French report the designs of the Carolina people to trade with the Indians on the upper Mississippi. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xvi, pp. 208–210. In 1714 apparently the Carolina traders were trying to trade with the Illinois, through the aid of certain French residents there. *Ibid.*, p. 303. See also *ibid.*, p. 317. In the next year they are reported to have begun to build a fort at the mouth of the Ohio. *Ibid.*, pp. 318–319, 335, 345. Céloron in 1749 found many Carolina traders on the upper Ohio, and warned them to leave. *Catholic Historical Researches*, ii, p. 135; iii, p. 24. Much more evidence might be cited from the official records published by the various southern states and elsewhere. See also Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 171 *et seq.*

CHAPTER II

THE NEW YORK FUR TRADE AND ITS REGULATION

THE part played by the Province of New York in this struggle for the mastery of the continent was greater in the eighteenth century than that of any other English colony. In Pennsylvania, as we have seen, Indian affairs were a compound of land titles and trade. In New York in this period they consisted almost exclusively of trade. At an earlier time, when Indian affairs were local, lands had played their part there as elsewhere, in the early relations with the River Indians, for example; and to a minor extent this continued to be true, as in the case of the great and scandalous Kayaderosseras Patent on the Mohawk,[1] but it may be said truly that in New York, Indian relations in the eighteenth century practically meant Indian trade. The great contest in America was mainly a struggle for the control of the vast country west of the Alleghanies, through the aid of Indian alliances induced by trade. The supremacy of New York among the English colonies in this trade was due to several interrelated causes. One of these was the unique geographical position of the province.

It was the constant aim of the French in colonial times, as it was England's in the War of Independence, to draw a line through the English colonies from the St. Lawrence to Manhattan Island. It was a comparatively short line — only about three hundred miles — and it would effectually cut apart New England and all the rest of British America. France was fully aware of its importance, and tried to buy and then to take New York. It was her failure in both these that made necessary that line of forts behind the English colonies — some two thousand miles in length instead of three hundred — a line too long for the small population of Canada to man. If there is one military reason for the failure

[1] For a judicious account of certain phases of the history of Indian lands in New York, see Alice Mapelsden Keys's *Cadwallader Colden* (1906), especially ch. ii.

of New France it is this. But why was it necessary to proceed by sea at all against so weak a colony as New York? Why was not France able by a land attack to sweep away the slight trading posts of Dutch and English merchants, and take possession of a small and poorly defended colony? For it was miserably weak and this could easily have been done before the other members of the loosely joined empire would or could have come to the rescue. The reason does not lie in the lack of desire, or in any want of appreciation of the supreme importance of the conquest on the part of the French, nor is it to be found in the strength of New Netherland or New York. Neither is it due to the natural defenses of the country. New York has been called the "Citadel of America." The term is rather misleading. Its central position and splendid river and lake system make it truly the key of the continent, but this very fact made it also the most open to attack by the French. The valley of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, as Professor Shaler says, has not its like in the world.[1] Nowhere else is there such a mighty water system with no mountain wall to flank it. So low is the watershed between the St. Lawrence system and the Mississippi that a common suction pump will raise the water high enough to surmount it, and the City of Chicago has dug through it, and in part diverted the waters of Lake Michigan from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. It was this low water-shed, with its interlacing rivers, that invited the French into the interior and made possible their marvellous explorations there. Access to New York from the north was equally easy. The English colonies were protected elsewhere by the impenetrable thickets of the Endless Mountains. Only in New York was there no protecting wall. This made New York the natural gateway to the interior, with enormous possibilities for trade and commerce, which have been of decisive importance from then to now, but it also exposed her as no other colony was exposed to attack from

[1] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv, Introduction, p. xxi. See also Pownall's Memorial stating the Nature of the Service in North America, and proposing a General Plan of Operations. *Administration of the Colonies*, 4th ed., Appendix I.

Canada.[1] Why then was she not swept away? There is but one answer: the continuous alliance of the government at Orange and New Amsterdam, Albany and New York, with the League of the Iroquois. Evidences of the appreciation of this fact could be given almost without number, both French and English, contemporary and modern. "To this Indian League, France must chiefly ascribe the final overthrow of her magnificent schemes of colonization in the northern part of America," declares Lewis H. Morgan.[2] "The pivotal fact in early American history," says Fiske, "was the alliance between the Five Nations and the white men on the Hudson River, first Dutch, afterwards English."[3] And Parkman: "The cause of the failure of the Jesuits is obvious. The guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois were the ruin of their hopes. Could they have curbed or converted those ferocious bands, it is little less than certain that their dream would have become a reality."[4] George Chalmers calls the Five Nations the "impenetrable fence around the northern colonies,"[5] and to Governor Dongan they are the "bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians.[6] "If we lose the Iroquois, we are gone," wrote James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, to William Penn in 1702.[7] In 1681, Du Chesnau

[1] In 1650 the directors of the Dutch West Indian Company were fearful of an attack by the English on the Wappinger Indians. "If these Indians should be driven away," they wrote to Stuyvesant, "then the *English* would thus by occupying their lands have a chance to cut *Rensselaerswyck* off from us; they might further become masters of the whole North river and with it of the fur trade." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiv, p. 124.

"If ever the *French* can take us at an unguarded Hour, and could make themselves Masters of *New-York*, they would be enabled thereby to cut off the Communication between the *Northern* and *Southern* Colonies, and by the Aid of the *Indians*, they might have it in their Power totally to destroy the *English* Settlements." *The Wisdom and Policy of the French* (London, 1755), pp. 98–99.

"Whoever possesses the dominion of lake Ontario and the pass at Niagara, must engross the whole furr trade." *The Importance of Canada Considered in Two Letters to a Noble Lord* (London, 1761), p. 3.

[2] *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), p. 11.

[3] *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, ii, p. 172.

[4] *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 447.

[5] *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, i, p. 248.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, p. 393.

[7] *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, i, p. 88.

wrote home, " There is no doubt, and it is the universal opinion, that if the Iroquois are allowed to proceed they will subdue the Illinois, and in a short time render themselves masters of all the Outawa tribes, and divert the trade to the English, so that it is absolutely necessary to make them our friends or to destroy them." [1] Five years later, Denonville, Governor of Canada, exclaimed in despair, " Whilst we have the Iroquois on our hands can we be certain of anything ? " [2] Charlevoix gives it as his opinion that if they united with the English and the Indians of the interior " one single campaign would suffice to expel the French from New France." [3] They are " the balance of the Continent of America," declared the people of Albany in 1720.[4]

If these opinions are correct, few subjects could be more important for American history than a determination of the causes of this continuous alliance of the League with the whites on the Hudson. In this particular instance, great importance is

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, p. 165.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 301. Archibald Kennedy, a member of the Council of the Province of New York, in his *Observations on the Importance of the Northern Colonies under Proper Regulations*, published in 1750, says that if D'Anville had been able to refresh his troops they could easily have taken New York and Albany, " by which Means they would have been possessed of *Hudson's* River, the whole Furr Trade, and at the same Time the Command of many thousand fighting Indians, who would very soon have drove us all into the Sea. . . . And if ever the *French* become absolute masters of the Indians, adieu to our *English* Settlements: and should they even attempt this and succeed, of which I make little doubt, if even at the Expence of a Million, they will be Gainers " (p. 6). In his important *Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies* (New York, 1754) he expresses the opinion that if the French can but succeed in getting the Indians over to their side — an outcome apparently not improbable when he wrote — " they will have little else to do." A stop can be put to them " by Means of the *Indians*, and by them only " (pp. 5–6).

" If we look back into the history of our colonies, and those of the French, we shall find, that our colonies have not derived the peace and quiet, safety and security, they have hitherto enjoyed, from the number of their men, and far less from their caution and vigilance, or the care that has been taken of them by Britain, but from the Indians in alliance with them, and particularly the *Six Nations;* who are situated between the French and us, upon the borders of both nations, and have been in a manner the safeguard and only barrier of our colonies ever since they were settled, particularly against the French." Mitchell, *The Contest in America* (London, 1757), p. 212.

[3] *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.* English translation by J. G. Shea, iv, p. 276.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 571.

usually given to the ill-advised assistance given by Champlain in 1609 to the Indians of Canada against the Iroquois. The memory of it is usually represented as the cause of the alliance between the Iroquois and the European enemies of France in America for one hundred and fifty years. I confess that this seems to me entirely too insignificant and transient a cause of so important and enduring a thing as the alliance in question. The explanation is inadequate. Revenge has always been prominent in the Indian character, but such an explanation as this, while it might explain the actions of the Indians of *Gertrude of Wyoming* or *The Last of the Mohicans*, does not suffice to make clear the policy of the Iroquois as we see it in the eighteenth century.

Another and a better reason for the alliance must be sought, and it is to be found in the trade in furs. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis expresses what seems to me the truer view when he says: "The interests of the Confederacy rested with the English, and not with the French. If the Iroquois permitted the Indians of the Northwest to negotiate with the French, and interposed no obstacle to the transportation of peltries from the upper lakes to Montreal and Quebec, they would forfeit all the commercial benefits which belonged to their geographical position. Thus their natural tendency was to join with the English." [1]

[1] Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, v, p. 2.

"I have nevertheless observed, and this must not be lost sight of, to understand the whole thread of the Iroquois manœuvres, so apparently variant with each other, that these Indians would not calmly have beheld the English sole masters of all Canada. They were not ignorant how much they should have to fear at the hands of the English, had the latter no rivals, and at bottom they aspired only to hold the scale evenly balanced between the two nations, whose mutual jealousy made the Iroquois sought by both and ensured their safety.

"The English themselves were fortunate to have such a barrier to present to us; for they could not ensure the very tranquillity of their colonies, powerful as they were, except by keeping us employed on that side, while the Indians in the neighborhood of Acadia, closely allied to us by the bond of religion, incessantly disturbed the repose of New England, and the domestic dissensions of New York exposed that province to the danger of passing under the French domination." Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Eng. trans., iv, p. 248.

"It was at this time [about 1609] that the mutual dread and enmity between the Five nations and the French commenced, which brought so many calamities on both. It was at the same time that a peace ensued between the former and the Dutch, which continued without interruption, *because it was advantageous to both;* the

Really to understand what Winsor means when he says that "trade was on the whole the most important influence now at work in the struggle for a continent," [1] we must appreciate two things: first, what was the real aim of the French and English in all their relations with the interior, by what means and under what relative conditions were they striving to accomplish it; and second, what influence upon such aims, means and conditions was given to the Iroquois by their unique geographical position. In the eighteenth century trade with an Indian nation meant an alliance with it, and an alliance meant trade. The nations that traded with New France would fight against the English colonies, and the ones who brought their furs to Albany instead of Montreal could be counted on to fight the French. "The ultimate question for the rival whites," as Winsor says, "as well as for the intermediary natives was: Who should supply the rum to the distant Ottawas and Miamis." [2] Trade and policy were inseparable, but trade was the ultimate end of all policy; it was also practically the sole means in all Indian relations. The endeavors of the contending whites were thus directed to the control of the interior and its trade, and the interruption so far as possible of all communication between the interior tribes and their own enemies, white and red. The matter was never put better than by the representative of the Six Nations at Albany in 1735, when he said, "Trade and Peace we take to be one thing." [3] The converse was usually equally true.

The English entered this competition for trade and for peace under great handicaps. The French were far in advance of them in the trade with the interior. To this must be added the abuses of the English traders themselves. During the whole history of the English fur trade, the evidence indicates that most of these traders were the very scum of the earth, and their treat-

one was constantly engaged in war, the other was occupied with the arts of peace. When the English acquired possession of New York they were adopted, by the tribes, in the place of their ancient allies, and a similar good correspondence continued, *because the same causes existed.*" Chalmers, *Political Annals*, i, p. 586. The Italics are not in the original.

[1] *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[3] *Post*, p. 195.

ment of the Indians was such as hardly to be suitable for description.[1] The lack of adequate regulation of these lawless and unprincipled men was no doubt a serious disadvantage of the English colonies, and it was one hardly likely to be amended while there was such rivalry for the trade between the different colonies themselves. Against these handicaps, serious as they were, and sometimes threatening the very continuance of the English trade, were two important and closely related influences. One was the fact that with the exception of powder alone, the English goods were so much cheaper than the French, that at

[1] References to the abuses of the Indian traders abound in many of the numerous accounts of travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in memoirs, political pamphlets and official papers. They are in substantial agreement in describing the trickery, violence and immorality of the practices. A few of the admissions of one of these men who considered himself above the average will indicate what the unrecorded customs of these "banditti" must have been.

Long, in his account of his travels (*Early Western Travels*, edited by Thwaites), says that the vice and immorality charged upon the English are "to be attributed in a great measure to the traders, who used to purchase convicts, and hire men of infamous character to carry up their goods among the Indians, many of whom ran away from their masters to join the Savages; the iniquitous conduct of those people essentially injured the English in the opinion of the Indians and fixed an odium which will not be soon or easily removed," p. 33 (original paging). But he admitted that rum "is now become an essential requisite in every transaction with the Savages," and "a drunken frolic is looked upon as an indispensable requisite in a barter," pp. 13–14. He describes some of these "frolics" resulting from his own rum. One of them lasted four days and nights, with the result that two boys were killed and six men wounded by three Indian women, and one of the chiefs was murdered. These frolics he piously declares "are very prejudicial to all parties, and put the trader to a considerable expence!" p. 56. In another frolic, lasting three days and nights, "five men were killed, and one woman dreadfully burnt," p. 104. In still another, "the only accident which happened was to a little child, whose back was broke by the mother," p. 111. The worthy Long also admits that it is his practice to dilute his rum so as to make it "about one-fifth part weaker than usual," p. 133. During the "frolics," in order to prevent injury to himself it was his custom to put laudanum in the rum, p. 105, and on one occasion, he confesses, he gave rum with eighty drops of tincture of cantharides and eighty drops of laudanum to an Indian woman, who drank it "and then fell on the floor," pp. 111–112. "I have always found laudanum extremely useful," he says, "in general it may be considered an essential article in the commerce with the Indians, as it proves the only method of overcoming their intoxicated senses, and making the life of a trader more tolerable, by putting a stop to their impertinence," p. 112. Wraxall gives an instance of the practices of traders in their dealing with the Indians, on page 166.

Albany and Oswego twice as much could be given for beaver as the Indian could get at any of the French posts. This is the reason always given by English, French and Indians for the English share in the trade.[1] There is no doubt that it is the correct one, practically the sole one. The second fact derives its importance entirely from it: the only route from the interior to Albany, the centre of distribution of these cheap goods, lay directly through the country of the Iroquois. These two interrelated facts furnish the secret of the Iroquois alliance, the enduring and sufficient cause of their practically unbroken friendship with the nation that held Albany. The reasons for this are plain. The great rôle of the Iroquois was that of middlemen between the "Far Indians" and the English, a rôle which enabled them not only to obtain material benefits, but to retain that position of superiority over the Indians of the eastern half of the United States which they had probably first secured through their knowledge of the white man's firearms, but could now no longer hope to hold by mere force alone, since their fighting men had so diminished in numbers and their enemies had obtained weapons as good as their own. They hoped to retain

[1] "It is absolutely impossible to prevent the savages from taking their beaver-skins to Orange; we shall never succeed in doing so as long as goods are dear and beaver-skins cheap." Report of Vaudreuil and Raudot on the colonies, November 14, 1708. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, xxxiii, p. 420. On this point all contemporary observers, both French and English, are unanimous. There is no subject to which they referred oftener, and there was no factor more important or more continuously operative upon the respective fortunes of the rival claimants for North America. The reasons for the greater cheapness of English goods are various; the monopolistic policy of the French government, the fact that rum, strouds and duffels, the staples of Indian trade, came mainly from England or English dependencies, the difficulties of navigation in the St. Lawrence, and in the route to the interior as compared with the easier route to Oswego and Schenectady, and other factors. Colden's important memoir on the fur trade gives the best summary of the matter. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, pp. 726–733. Strouds, probably the most important article in a trader's outfit, were a kind of coarse woolen cloth, so called from Stroud in England, where it was manufactured. Wynne, *British Empire in America*, i, p. 198. Duffels, for the same reason, were named from a town near Antwerp. *New Oxford Dictionary*. "*Brandy*," says Kalm, "the *Indians* value above all other goods that can be brought them; nor have they any thing, though ever so dear to them, which they would not give away for this liquor." *Travels*, English Translation, 2d ed., ii, p. 395.

by peaceable means what they could not expect any longer to keep by force of arms. This could be done by alliance and by trade alone, and by English trade alone. They could not possibly hope to enjoy the same importance as intermediaries between the French and the western Indians, because the French themselves already had their own trading posts as far west as the lakes extended with hundreds of *coureurs de bois* who collected the furs in the interior and brought them directly to Canada. Besides, the Canadian Indians were strong enough to prevent any interference, notwithstanding their defeats by the Iroquois. It was clearly good policy on the part of the Iroquois to stick to the English, particularly as their friends had no posts farther west than Oswego.

The Iroquois were fully alive to the great advantages their situation gave them. It became, therefore, a consistent part of their policy to do their utmost to induce the nations of the interior to desert the French and accept the English goods. This is the reason for the repeated rumors reported in the French memoirs that the Iroquois have been "sending belts underground" to western Indians accustomed to trade with France — rumors which never failed to arouse French fears on account of the cheapness of English goods.

The very existence of the Five Nations depended on this. There were no beaver left in their own country. As early as 1671, we have a French memoir to the effect that hardly a single beaver could be found south of Lake Ontario.[1] The Iroquois had to get their beaver from the Indians farther west or get none, and beaver they must have or lose the rum, the clothing, guns and ammunition which had become necessary to their happiness and even to their existence. To induce these other Indian tribes to take English goods often meant to induce them to take up the hatchet against the French. It was at times a part of Iroquois policy to bring this about, and the alternatives offered were usually trade or war. Particularly important to them at one period were the Hurons and the Tobacco Nation, who were in such

[1] In that year Courcelles wrote that the beaver were "absolutely exhausted" there. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, p. 80.

a position geographically that they could intercept all furs coming from the west to Canada. To intercept trade there was to turn it southward, where it must pass through the Iroquois country to Albany. It is easy to see the bearing of conditions such as these on the history of the Indians at this time, — the Fox Wars, the desperate struggle with the Hurons, the war between the Iroquois and the Illinois, the alliance between Iroquois and Miamis, the general influence of the Iroquois over the tribes as far as the Mississippi. It is little wonder the Iroquois valued a connection with the English which lay at the bottom of such influence and power, or that the English tried to continue an alliance which brought so many furs to Albany. [1] The policy had other results. Obviously it would be unwise for the Iroquois to allow the English to send their own men directly to the western Indians, or to establish posts in the Indian country which would lessen their own importance as middlemen. The Indian records contain many entries which show that the Iroquois fully realized this. It is undoubtedly the reason for the otherwise surprising fact that New York had neither post nor fort west of Oswego. Again and again the Indians protested against the practice of English traders in carrying rum to the Far Indians. Their real reason was that it endangered their trade. They resisted all projects of New York to build a fort at Niagara and elsewhere west of

[1] "The English . . . from that time [about 1689] shared with the French in the fur trade; and this was the chief motive of their fomenting war between us and the Iroquois, inasmuch as they could get no good furs, which come from the northern districts, except by means of these Indians, who could scarcely effect a reconciliation with us, without precluding them from this precious mine.

"Not that the Iroquois were great hunters; but, besides their often robbing our allies and voyageurs of the furs they were bearing to Montreal, they induced several tribes, and often even our bushlopers, to trade with the English of New York, and the profit which they derived from this trade, of which their country became of course the centre, retained them in the English interest. To these reasons was added the allurement of a better market, which made a great impression on all the Indians, so that the best part of the furs of Canada went to the English, without there being any possibility of bringing to reason those interested in this trade, the head men of which being in France, did not see matters so clearly as those who were in America." Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, English translation, iv, pp. 16–17.

Oswego, and succeeded in preventing it.[1] This is in strong contrast with the attitude of the Indians on the Ohio, who begged the English to erect forts to protect them.[2] As a result, when the

[1] When a war was impending between England and France, the policy changed. Then the Indians were glad enough to have forts as a protection from actual attack. But with the restoration of peace the opposition to any extension of posts or forts always revived. The results of the policy of the League of the Iroquois are also to be seen in the small number of New York traders among the western Indians. Compared with the numbers from Pennsylvania or the Carolinas, they were insignificant, and yet the New York trade probably exceeded that of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas combined. In this respect New York presents a striking contrast both to the French on the north and to the English colonies to the south of her. Through the causes mentioned above, the New York fur trade could be conducted largely at home, a fact which greatly complicated some of the problems of New York politics.

[2] The French perfectly understood the reason for this opposition on the part of the Iroquois to the building of English posts and forts in the west. Officers interested in the retention of Michillimackinac and the abandonment of Detroit used it effectively as an argument. In 1708 d'Aigremont, in answer to Cadillac's contention that Detroit must be strengthened or it would fall into English hands, wrote, "Even if it were true that the English would wish to take possession of this post if we abandoned it, I do not think the Iroquois would permit it, for if they were masters there, they would do the whole trade independently of the Iroquois, which would certainly not suit them. They are quite willing for the English to do this trade, but want it to be done through them, so that they may share the profit on it with them." *Michigan Pioneer Historical Collections*, xxxiii, p. 445.

The same argument was used against the establishment of a French post at Niagara. In 1708 Vaudreuil and Raudot wrote, "There need be no fear, My Lord, of the English seizing this post; the Iroquois is too skillful, and understands his interests too well, to permit it. If the Englishman were settled there, the Iroquois would find himself deprived of the profit he makes out of the people of the lakes who pass through their territory to go to the English, or from the beaver-skins they trade in with them on which they make a profit out of the Englishman.

"There is yet another reason which would cause the Iroquois to oppose it, namely, that if the English were settled there, the people of the lakes would no longer have need of the Iroquois for trading with the English, who would attract to them all the tribes of the lakes." *Ibid.*, p. 415. In 1712 carpenters who had been sent into the Mohawk country to build forts reported that they had met with opposition from the Indians, who declared that they would pull the forts down. *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xi, p. 113. For example on September 15, 1725, in a conference with the Five Nations, when Governor Burnet proposed the building of a block house at the mouth of the Onondaga River, the Indians objected and suggested the end of Oneida Lake as a preferable site. Burnet refused to assent, urging that this proposal was "a thing the handlers put into your heads, on purpose that the Beavers may all go to Canada, where they would rather trade w^{h} the ffrench then with you by which you may see they are not your friends." *Original Indian Records*, ii. New

Seven Years' War broke out, there was that lack of forts on the western frontier upon which Pownall and others dwelt at such length, — a factor of great influence on the campaigns and their outcome during the early years of the struggle. Such, then, was the influence which kept the Iroquois at peace with Albany, and not the memory of Champlain's action generations before. It was an influence that gave to Albany practical immunity from attack in all the wars between France and England, while all northern New England and even the neighboring Connecticut valley were harried by war parties. This continued security gave rise to rumors — only too well founded — of the existence of neutrality between Albany and Montreal, based upon a mutual advantage arising from trade which would be interrupted by hostilities.[1] The intermediaries in this illicit traffic were

York records and documents show a great number of instances of this feeling on the part of the Iroquois. For example, in 1755 William Alexander wrote to Sir William Johnson that the building of a store-house at the carrying-place between the Mohawk and Wood Creek was offensive to the Indians and had been discontinued. *Johnson MSS.*, i, p. 211.

Mr. Biggar cites Sagard as authority for the statement that the Hurons in the early period occupied much the same position with regard to Canada that the Iroquois did toward New York, and opposed the passage of trade by way of Lake Ontario because it meant the loss of their annual toll on goods going by the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing. *Early Trading Companies*, p. 128. It is clear that this furnished an argument to the Hurons against allowing the Canadians to make peace with the Iroquois which would at the least make the route by lakes Ontario and Erie more available. Sagard also declared that such a peace was opposed by the shareholders of the Company in Canada lest the furs of the Hurons might then go to the Dutch on the Hudson. *Ibid.* It may be suspected that there were persons in Albany whose attitude was much the same, because they preferred the Canada trade even to the direct dealings with the western Indians.

[1] Complaints of this neutrality began soon after the English conquest of New York. The people of Albany were charged, much to the anger of Governor Andros, with aiding King Philip against the English colonists in New England. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 4th Series, ii, pp. 287–288. "... the New Yorkers, or rather the Albanians, suffered the Canada-Indians to go through their province and fall upon any of our frontiers, without looking upon it to be a breach of neutrality, and carried on great trade both with French and Indians, at the same time; and sometimes the plunder, made in the county of Hampshire, became merchandize in Albany." Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay* (2d ed.), ii, pp. 141–142. In a memoir of Beauharnois and Hocquart on the trade in Canada, written in 1732, they say that three Englishmen have come to Montreal with passports from the Commandant at Orange, pretending to be collecting debts, hunting a slave, etc., but

the Caughnawaga or Praying Indians, originally members of the Iroquois confederacy, who had been induced by the French to move to the St. Lawrence, where they were under French in-

really to trade, it is suspected. They are watched carefully to prevent it. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, p. 101.

In 1734 M. de Beauharnois wrote to de Maurepas, "As respects Orange, you will be informed that the Patroon or Lord of that City, [Colonel Jeremiah van Rensselaer] visited Montreal this summer, in company with another influential gentleman of that country, on pretence of traveling and making a tour, and *nevertheless* provided with a passport from the English Governor, from whom they handed me a letter on the subject of the fort, which that Governor had imagined I was having built among the Senecas. These two Englishmen, who are Dutch (*flamands*), have privately informed me, and I was aware of it, that the late M. de Vaudreuil, in the *last* war had always spared their country and had recommended the Indians not to make any incursions into it; that the Father of one of these two Englishmen had kept up a secret correspondence with M. de Vaudreuil, and that they would do the same with me; that as for themselves, being in more intimate relation with the Indians than the English *are*, they would *make* no movement against us; *adding*, that they had thus acted with fidelity during twenty years!" *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, pp. 1039–1040. Maurepas, in reply, said he was aware such a course had been adopted in the last war, but advised caution. *Ibid.*, p. 1048. See also *ibid.*, p. 1045.

"Le sieur Livingston, qui avait demeuré à Montréal, était celui qui recevait ordinairement les pelleteries des français du Canada." Ferland, *Canada*, ii, p. 415. See Kingsford, *History of Canada*, ii, p. 508. The French at various times forbade foreign merchants or factors to live in Canada (*e. g.*, in 1727, *Edits et Ordonnances*, i, p. 475) but such regulations were probably obeyed about as much as the New York laws against this trade.

In the heat of the conflict between governor and assembly, Governor Clinton, in 1747, charged the people of Albany with a "shameful Neutrality, which it is generally believed, some in this Province, have endeavoured to establish between this Province and *Canada*, at this Time, such as was established in the War in Queen *Anne's* Reign, by which the *French* in *Canada*, gained great Advantages over the neighbouring Colonies, to the Prejudice of the common Interest of the Nation." *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, ii, p. 186. The assembly disavowed all knowledge of the offences charged in these "groundless Insinuations," which they attributed to "the next Person in the Administration" [Cadwallader Colden] *ibid.*, ii, pp. 206 *et seq.*, but they are confirmed by other evidence. Comptroller Weare, after a visit to Albany in 1745, wrote that neutrality was sought by the people of Albany at that time in order to protect their trade with Canada. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 1st series, i, p. 75. A letter from an officer stationed at Albany during the Seven Years' War complains that the people there "instead of assisting the officers in forwarding the service, . . . do every thing in their power to hinder and obstruct it." *Ibid.*, 4th series, ix, p. 457. It was reported in the New York Assembly in 1755 that the French at Louisbourg were supplied from New York. *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, ii, p. 436.

John Mitchell, in his *Contest in America*, accounts as follows for the opposition in New York to Governor Burnet's scheme for a post at Oswego. "The private

fluence. The relations of these Indians with their brethren who remained the allies of the English were never entirely broken off in peace or war, notwithstanding the efforts of the English,[1] and

reasons of their conduct, for they could certainly have no public reasons for it, were, a company of them had engrossed the whole trade of supplying the colony, as was pretended, with goods for the Indian trade; which they sold in wholesale to the French, instead of retailing them to our people, or the Indians. And for that reason they and the rest who were concerned in this clandestine trade with the French, chose rather that the French should be convenient to them at *Crown-Point*, than that the English should settle at *Oswego!* Hence the French got so peaceable and quiet possession of that place (that now costs so much blood and treasure to recover) rather by our connivance, than our opposition: and the six nations of Indians told us flatly, that *the French built their Forts with English Strouds*, the goods we supplied them with; and remonstrated against it, as prejudicial to our interest and their welfare," pp. 29–30. Mitchell was a partisan, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement. This trade was the same whether the English and French were at peace or war, a circumstance which made little difference to the Canadian Indians and to some persons in Montreal and Albany.

[1] Negotiations with the Praying Indians are found in the New York records in all periods. In 1691 it was reported in the Council of the province that they wished to come back to their old homes, and the Council ordered the Albany commissioners to send letters and belts to invite them to come and to promise that they would be " protected as brethren " and instructed in the Christian Religion. *N. Y. Council MSS.*, vi, p. 17. Nothing came of it, however, and in 1694 the commissioners report that emissaries from the Five Nations had returned with the Caughnawaga's reply that they would make war or peace just as the French commanded. *N. Y. MSS.*, xxxix, p. 156. Complaints of the neutrality came in from New England, however, whenever there was war between the French and English, and the New York government was rather sensitive on the point. To a complaint made by New England governors in 1711 the Council of the province replied: " Whatsoever Neutrality there is between the Five Nations & y^e^ French of Canada and their Indians had been Entred into without y^e^ Consent or direction of this Government.

" Wee are not Conscious that there has beene dureing this Warr any Neutrality between y^e^ people of Albany or any other people of this province and y^e^ ffrench and their Indians. . . . Wee are very well assured that if any of her Majesties subjects have or shall hereafter be Detected of Trading with the ffrench in Canada, they would be soe farr from Receiving any Countenance or favoure from y^e^ Government here that they should be in due manner prosecuted as Traitors as by Law they ought and brought to Condign punishment for y^e^ same." *N. Y. MSS.*, lvii, p. 2.

In the very next year, however, we find a " proposition " to the Indian commissioners from Praying Indians who had come from Canada to " take the hatchet out of the heads of those that were kild, and to Burry the Same that it may be forgotten & forgiven . . . to the end that the path may be open for Sachims to come and go to this place in peace that we may Live in unity & Sessation as formerly." *N. Y. MSS.*, lvii, p. 152. Upon this, the commissioners, headed by Peter Schuyler, wrote to Governor Hunter on May 19, 1712, " . . . we are of opinion with submission to your Excellency that it would be proper to Grant them Liberty to come as for-

they constituted a difficulty all the more serious because it was connected with the illicit trade in Indian goods between Albany and Montreal, in which the Albanians were deeply involved,

merly; if not, then we can Expect nothing Else but an open war with those Indians and we can't See that we are in a Capacity to wage war Considering the poor Circumstances these fronteers are in at present." *N. Y. MSS.*, lvii, p. 153. On May 23d the matter was discussed in the provincial council, and " Left to the discretion of the commissioners." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xi, p. 87. This series of letters and minutes is very enlightening. It shows the fact of neutrality in time of war, and the tortuous policy of the New York government; but it also discloses the real difficulty with which the government was confronted, — a difficulty which the English merchants and the French were by no means disposed to lessen. This difficulty is further illustrated by a letter of Governor Hunter's at this time. The governor had apparently communicated in the mean time with representatives of the Five Nations, and on August 13, 1712, he wrote to the Albany commissioners informing them that the answer to the Caughnawagas was left to their discretion, — an arrangement to which the Five Nations had agreed. But he says the Indians had also expressed the hope that " you would put a stop to all Commerce between her Majesty's Subjects & those Indians, Resolving if you did so that they likewise would break off all correspondence of what nature soever with the French and their Indians; but the five nations finding contrary to their Expectations that those Cachnawaga Indians were Encouraged to trade with Our People, they Thought it a very odd Procedure that the Allys of our Enemies should be Countenanced in such an affair, when They were ready on their Part to put a Stop to that Scandalous Neutrality; whereupon Some of the Five Nations Enquiring into this misterious Conduct, were answered by some (I shall enquire hereafter by whom) that it was the Governour's Order; you may Imagine it was not a little Surprising to me to be Branded with a Procedure so very Remote from my Thoughts." *N. Y. MSS.*, lviii, p. 5.

In 1723 the Indian commissioners were much agitated over the report that Colonel John Schuyler was making war in company with the New Englanders upon the eastern Indians, an action which they deplored on the ground that it might draw New York into the war — " Nothing can Ensue these Strained Actions of Coll° John Schuyler but an Indian War in the Bowels of your Excelly^s Govern^t " *Original Indian Records*, ii, dated October 19, 1723. Throughout this year, these records are full of accounts of attacks upon New England by the French Indians, at which the commissioners express their horror, but take no action.

Again in 1745 Governor Clinton reported the Caughnawagas as spies. *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, ii, p. 74. He so distrusted the commissioners at this time that he preferred to carry on his negotiations with the Indians through Colonel Johnson, which led to a lively correspondence between the commissioners and himself. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxiv, p. 222; lxxv, pp. 25, 27, 31, 32. The commissioners reported in April, 1746, that the Senecas, under French influence, had promised the Caughnawagas to be neutral in the war. *Ibid.*, lxxv, p. 32.

On August 14, 1754, the Albany commissioners had a conference with the Caughnawagas, in which the covenant chain was renewed. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxix, p. 46. On September 27th the commissioners asked instructions from the governor

even the members of the Albany Council who were entrusted for a long period with the enforcement of Indian regulations for New York, and for the other colonies as well. The actions of

how to deal with the Caughnawagas if they came to Albany, and expressed the opinion "that it is very Necessary to Keep friendship With them." *Ibid.*, p. 44. In January of the next year the governor submitted to the Council a letter from Lieutenant Holland at Oswego, saying that certain chiefs of the Five Nations who had gone to Canada the year before had returned and reported that they had "settled the Point with the French that Oswego and Albany should remain in peace without Molestation." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xxiii, p. 262. The Council advised the sending of the information to the governors of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Governor Dinwiddie, in reply, strenuously objected to any such treaty of neutrality "as a measure the Commissioners had taken from Lucrative Views." *Ibid.*, xxv, p. 4.

A letter to Sir William Johnson in September, 1755, contains the report that all the tribes of the Six Nations except the Mohawks had sent a belt to the latter and said that they would not intermeddle in French and English affairs as both French and English had a design to kill them all. They said the Mohawks might join the English if they liked, but in that case "they would kick them from them." The author of the letter expresses the suspicion "that the Caughnawagas were not only backward themselves but persuaded others to be so that our Indians and they have some Understanding together." *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 7.

Colden reports the fact that the Indian guides of the English troops in pursuit of French Indians, when they came near the enemy, always fired their guns or made some noise so that the French Indians might avoid them. *Five Nations*, ii, p. 216.

The evidences seem overwhelming that there existed at all times, both in war and peace, an understanding between the Dutch and the Caughnawagas, if not the French themselves, that Albany was not to be attacked nor the trade between it and Montreal interrupted. The problem of the government was made doubly hard by the fact that the Albanians were at once the chief offenders in this contraband trade, and also constituted the official board entrusted with the prevention and punishment of it. "Most of them," as Archibald Kennedy says, "if not altogether, traders, or handlers, and whose interest it is, to take all advantage of those poor people, and that with impunity, as they have no body to complain to, the principal directors being all traders, and of course *Socii Criminis* . . . mostly *Anglo-Dutch* traders in *Indian* goods; who, together with a tribe of harpies or handlers, their relations and understrappers, have so abused, defrauded, and deceived these poor, innocent, well meaning people, that this treaty has well-nigh executed itself; so that at present we have very few *Indians* left that are sincerely in our interest, or that can be depended upon." *The Importance of the Friendship of the Indians*, pp. 14, 2. Wraxall reports that the officer stationed at Saratoga to prevent this trade with Canada was regularly engaged in it himself. *Post*, p. 141. Colden says that at the beginning of the English occupation of New York the Dutch circulated the report among the Indians that the English intended to destroy them. *Five Nations*, i, pp. 25–26.

From all this it is easy to see why the local commissioners were eventually superseded by a superintendent appointed by the Crown. In attempting to understand

some of these in violation of the laws they were supposed to enforce is parallel with that of some of the Canadian officials responsible for preserving the monopoly in furs, who grew rich by sending furs to Albany in return for these forbidden Indian goods. This is a subject of fundamental importance.

Not New England alone, but sometimes the southern colonies as well, had reason to complain of this discrimination against them. Every now and then a war party would go from New York to Virginia or the Carolinas and attack the Indians or whites there. This was due to the intrigues of the French, who, as Colden says, were "in Hopes, that, by the Indian Parties doing frequent Mischief in Virginia, the Government of New-York would be forced to join, in resenting the Injury, and thereby that Union, between the Government of New-York and the Five Nations, would be broke." [1] The French could not induce

this involved and important question, however, the race hostility and conflict of policy and pecuniary interests must not be overlooked. While admitting the facts, we must, in estimating the justice of English writers, such as Colden, Wraxall, Kennedy, and others, constantly keep one or two facts in mind. In the first place, that these "poor, innocent, well-meaning" Indians, shamefully defrauded as they undoubtedly were, at the same time well knew how to protect their own interests. As Charlevoix says (*ante*, p. xxxix) their constant policy was to preserve a balance between the French and English, and while in the main they kept the side of the English, they saw to it carefully that their allies were not too successful against the French. They "constantly received the bounty of both parties without much regarding the professions of either." Chalmers, *History of the Revolt*, ii, p. 225. French, Dutch, English and the Indians themselves all knew perfectly well how indispensable the alliance of the Iroquois was to Albany and all the English colonies as well. They all knew equally well that the Caughnawagas, though in the French interest, were in constant communication with their kinsmen, the Iroquois of New York; that the Indian league would never consent to allow the English to go to extremes against them, and that without that consent the English would never dare to proceed themselves. At the same time all were aware that these same "Praying Indians" at the instigation of the French were engaged in every war in harrying the New England provinces. It was a practical problem of infinite delicacy, and is an historical question of considerable difficulty, but of great importance. In attempting to solve it, possibly too much loyalty to English laws or fidelity to interests believed to be at variance with their own should not be looked for among a population only recently brought under a hostile flag. The Swedish traveller Kalm reported as late as 1749 that the Albanians were "almost all Dutchmen." *Travels*, English Translation, ii, pp. 100–101.

[1] History of the Five Nations (1902), i, pp. 24, 33. Parkman says there is no evidence of these intrigues, but the Indian Records, from which Colden got his in-

the Indians to attack New York directly, hard as they tried, on account of the trade, but it was easier to get them to attack any other English colony.

How important this trade through the country of the Five Nations was may be seen in the opinions expressed by both French and English of the importance of Oswego. Oswego existed for trade alone. It was a fortified trading post and nothing more, but in the whole of North America there was no place so hated or so feared by the French. In the Seven Years' War, it was the place above all others against which the French campaign was aimed. "The founding of Oswego," says Fiske, "was an event of prime importance in the history of the United States." [1]

formation, seem to leave little doubt of it. *E.g.*, *post*, p. 214. In 1717 the Indian Commissioners wrote to Governor Hunter that the French were "deludeing our Indians" and setting them against "our friends" in Carolina. *N. Y. MSS.*, lx, p. 156.

In 1723 an English prisoner was taken in Virginia by the Caughnawagas and Governor Burnet urged the Indian commissioners to have the Five Nations secure his release. In answer, the commissioners wrote, on April 23d, "We are perfectly well assured your Excellency would not oblige y^e^ five Nations in any thing unreasonable, but any act of your Excel^s^ weighs much more w^t^ them then any thing we can Do the Ind^ns^ who live at Canada at least those of Cachnawage are part of the five Nations and what ever Rough Treatment they receive will be resented by the five Nations perhaps not in so publick a Manner as to oblige them to leave their bread & Cloathing which we are Satisfied they receive at Albany but underhand to the great detriment of many Subjects living in the remotest part of the Government." *Original Indian Records*, ii.

In 1743 the Indian Commissioners wrote to the Governor of New York concerning the attacks of the Northern Indians upon Virginia, that the French were using "all their arts & means to foment a wider difference of this sort." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xix, p. 177.

[1] "The Preservation of *Oswego*, and of the Fidelity of the six Nations, is of more Consequence to the Province, than any other Thing whatsoever; and if we lose them, no Part of the Country will be safe." Governor Clarke's address to the New York Assembly, April 27, 1741, *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 800. In 1756 Governor Sir Charles Hardy called Oswego "The Source of the *British* influence" among the Indian allies. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 500. George Chalmers referred to it as "the storehouse of the Indian trade, the bulwark of the Six Nations." *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, ii, p. 284.

"Nothing at the north was shaping this traffic [in furs] in the colonial interests more than the English post at Oswego and nothing angered the French more than the maintenance of that station." Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 174.

"When the English were in possession of the Colonies, Albany commanded the

For New York the importance of the Indian trade in its larger aspects centres about the fort and settlement made by the Dutch on the Hudson called Fort Orange, Beverwyck or Willemstadt, and later Albany. It was this post and settlement, along with the "Colony" of Rensselaerswyck about it which first brought the Dutch into contact with the Mohawks, and later with the other members of the League of the Iroquois. It is unnecessary here to recount the conflict between the patroon in his colony and the director of the company in New Amsterdam or his deputy in Fort Orange. These disputes largely concerned the Indian trade, but their regulations show that the authority of both was systematically ignored by interlopers who carried their wares, of which rum was a principal part, into the Indian country and there intercepted the Indians, and by making them drunk or by offering them higher prices prevented their furs from reaching the fort or the colony. The repeated enactment of rules against selling liquor to the Indians or going beyond the settlement to intercept them shows how ineffectual all such regulations were.[1] The first relations between the Dutch and the Indians were simple matters concerning neighboring land or local trade with the nearest tribes along the Hudson River and the Mohawks. The first formal treaty between the Europeans and any part of the Five Nations occurred probably about 1643,[2] and may be considered the beginning of the long series of compacts which kept these Indians on the side of the Dutch and the English for over one hundred years. All details concerning the Indian trade, the

trade with the Indians; and it is well known that no place in America furnished such a quantity of furs and skins, not even the Hudson's Bay settlements, whose utmost extent of trade is far inferior to the produce collected here. These furs and skins were procured from Canada, and brought to Fort Oswego by the Indians, who disposed of them to the agents sent there by the merchants of Albany." J. Long, *Travels*, p. 14. Oswego, he says, "is the key to the United States." *Ibid.*

[1] See, for example, O'Callaghan's *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, pp. 34, 63, 64–65, 93, 100, 137, 182–184, 200–201, 258–263, 310–314, 366, 378, 381, 382, 383–384, 425–427, 446–447, 463–464.

[2] In 1659, at an Indian conference, one of the Dutch commissioners said to the Mohawks: "Brothers! sixteen years have now elapsed since friendship and fraternity were first established between you and the Dutch; since we were bound unto each other by an iron chain! Up to this time, that chain has not been broken, neither by us nor by you." O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii, p. 391.

regulation or prevention of its abuses, and the consequent negotiations with the Indians were naturally left to the local authorities in the separate posts or towns, and in New Netherland such local authorities were organized on the model of the institutions of the mother country with which the colonists were familiar.

In Amsterdam and elsewhere in the Netherlands, the cities had long had an aristocratic government, in which the Senate was a self perpetuating body by whom the burgomasters and *échevins* were chosen.[1] In New Amsterdam the company's hold was too great for such a form of local government at once, but in other parts of New Netherland select bodies modelled upon that of the cities at home, in which the principle of coöptation prevailed, gradually arose to control the local administration, while the central authority of the Company was preserved by the expedient, also long in use in the mother country, of having a double number of names chosen by the local board from whom the director or his deputy selected the required number.

For some years after the founding of Fort Orange, its government was naturally in the hands of the commandant, but as the population about the fort grew larger, the Company determined to give them a civil government independent of the colony of Rensselaerswyck. The civil government of Beverwyck probably dates from 1652, when Stuyvesant by proclamation set up a court of justice there;[2] before that time, dwellers outside the jurisdiction of the fort had been subject to the government of Rensselaer's colony, which was administered according to the usual model under the general control of the patroon.[3]

At the end of the Dutch régime the government of Albany was in the hands of a sheriff or "schout," and a small council of burgomasters and "schepens," who acted in both a legislative and a judicial capacity for the city, appointing all subordinate officials except the secretary, and empowered also to name

[1] Sir William Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, Works (Edinburgh, 1754), i, pp. 53–56.

[2] O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii, p. 183.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 320–322.

double the number of men necessary to fill vacancies in their own body, from whom the Governor could choose their successors.[1]

This general system of local government continued in New Netherland after the English occupation, and in some parts of the country the business thus administered of necessity included regulations of trade and other relations with the Indians. Where these relations were exceptionally important, special commissioners might at times be employed, but apparently the regular officials ordinarily managed these along with other local matters.[2] After the English occupation, these local councillors continued to nominate the men from whom the governor chose their successors, and the board, now commonly spoken of as "commissaries," continued as before to govern and regulate local matters in which the Indians were concerned, though the more important matters might at times be concluded by the governor and his council, or by the commissaries under their direction.[3] So far as the northern

[1] O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, pp. 465, 485, 512.

[2] For example, in the East Riding of Yorkshire on Long Island, the employment of Indians in the whale fishery necessitated the appointment of "Commissionrs for ye Indian affaires" there, who are referred to in 1670. *N. Y. MSS., Court of Assize*, pp. 622–623; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiv, pp. 645 *et seq.* This was not a temporary but a permanent commission. It was not the same as the justices of the peace of the district, though some justices were probably included. In a commission of 1671 in the same district two justices and four others are named, any four of whom may act. *N. Y. MSS., General Entries*, iv, pp. 14–15; also *ibid.*, pp. 119–120. See also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiv, pp. 650–652, 665–666. In Albany there was never any difference between "Justices," "Commissaries," or "Commissioners," but a proper control was obtained by associating with them the commandant of the fort.

[3] By the articles of capitulation in 1664 it was provided that all existing inferior civil officers and magistrates should be undisturbed, and that new ones were to be chosen in the accustomed manner. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ii, p. 252. The protection of these Articles was expressly extended to Albany after a conference between Nicolls and deputies from the city, the magistrates were empowered to elect a "Scout," and it was ordered "That the officer in cheife at the Fort and the Magistrates of the Towne, shall upon all occasions for the perservinge of the peace and good Governmt mutually ayde and assist each other." *General Entries*, i (*N. Y. State Library Bulletin, History No. 2*), pp. 112–114. In 1668 directions were given to the commander at Albany as follows: "In matters Capitall or treatyes with ye Indians you are to Sitt in ye Fort with ye Schout and Comissaryes as ye upper Cort whereof you are to bee president and upon Equall division of voices to have the Costigne & decisive voyce: But in the ordinary Cots for Civill affaires you have nothing to doe."

"Lett not yor eares bee abused with private Storyes of ye Dutch, being disaffected to ye English, for generally wee cannot expect they love us; but in

part of the colony was concerned, practically the whole control of the details of Indian administration thus naturally fell into the hands of the magistrates or commissaries of Albany, and continued under their control after the colony came under

well attested cases, bring it before the comissaries who are expected to do justice therein."

It was also provided that if the Indians caused any disturbance in or near Albany, the commander should join with the commissaries in considering the same till further directions from the governor could be known. The commander was further directed to meet with the commissaries to give advice to Indian sachems, and instructed to answer the Indians after advice with the commissaries. He was also to receive presents from the Indians and make them presents in return at his "own Charge." *N. Y. MSS., Orders, Letters and Warrants, 1665–1669*, p. 229.

There are also in existence several less formal letters from the governor to the commander or to the commissaries about this time. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, pp. 144, 146. For example, in 1666 the governor wrote to the commander, "I have sent the best advice and direction w^{ch} my knowledge of the present affaires could collect out of the seuerall letters; but I must referr the management thereof for the best to the discretion of y^{r} selfe & Comissaries." *Ibid.*, p. 148.

In 1670 Governor Lovelace appointed the Albany commissioners in the usual way from a list of double the number. *N. Y. MSS., Court of Assize*, p. 591.

An entry in 1671 makes clearer the nature of this board. It recites the fact that heretofore for the courts of Albany, the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, Schenectady and the parts adjoining, including strangers, two commissaries have been elected annually for Albany and Schenectady and two for Rensselaerswyck — four in all — to take the place of the outgoing members, these four new members being added to the two whose terms have not expired — one from each of the two general districts referred to; thus making the whole board consist of six commissaries in addition to the "Schout." Hereafter there is to be one additional commissary from Albany, bringing the number up to seven, exclusive of the Schout. *N. Y. MSS., General Entries*, iv, p. 282.

In 1676 Governor Andros had instructions drawn up defining the jurisdiction of the commissaries, and regulating appeals from them and also appeals to them from a similar board constituted for Schenectady. *N. Y. MSS., Warrants, Orders, Passes, &c., 1674–1679*, pp. 223–225, 205–206. There is a reference to a nomination by the commissaries in 1681, *N. Y. MSS.*, xxx, p. 34, and a commission to the seven "Commissarys and Justices of the Peace for the County of Albany" from Governor Dongan in 1684, *N. Y. MSS.*, xxxiii, p. 53.

The more important Indian matters seem at this time to have been settled by the governor and council, and their decisions were generally followed by orders to the commissaries to carry them out, which sometimes became the basis for further ordinances of the commissaries. *N. Y. MSS., Warrants, Orders, Passes, &c., 1674–1679*, pp. 223–225; *N. Y. MSS., Orders, Letters Warrants, 1665–1669*, p. 431; *N. Y. Council MSS.*, iii, pt. ii, pp. 146, 178; *N. Y. MSS.*, xxvii, p. 144, 188; xxviii, p. 1.

In 1682 regular "propositions" were made at Albany by representatives of the Seneca tribe to the commander and four commissaries, *N. Y. MSS.*, xxx, p. 72.

English sovereignty, though the matters dealt with by this local self nominating body were rapidly taking on an importance which extended far beyond Albany, or the province of New York, or even the English dependencies. A general system of local control including Indian relations which had thus gradually grown up was recognized, rendered more systematic and made permanent by Governor Dongan's charter to the city of Albany, granted in 1686, the great charter of the " liberties " of the Albany traders, the legal basis of the power of the Albany commissaries or commissioners for over half a century, and one of the fundamental documents in the history of the American Indian trade.[1] This charter confirms the franchises and immunities before enjoyed by the Albanians, " Sometimes by the Name of the Commissaryes of the Towne of Albany Sometimes by the Name of Schepenon of Willem Stadt and Sometimes by the Name of Justices of the Peace for the Towne of Albany and by Divers other Names," [2] and provides for their continuance " for ever " under the titles of " Mayor Recorder Towne Clerke and six Aldermen and six assistants " to be known collectively as " the Mayor Aldermen & Comonalty of the Citty of Albany," together with " one Chamberlaine or Treasurer one Sherriffe one Coroner one Clerke of the Markett one high Constable three sub. Constables and one Marshall or Serjant att Mace." [3]

The mayor, recorder, alderman and assistants or the mayor and any three or more of the aldermen and any three or more of the assistants were authorized to act as a " Common Council " empowered to make all necessary ordinances for the government of the city provided they were not repugnant to the King's prerogative, the laws of England or the enactments of the province. Such ordinances expressly including provisions " for Preservacon of Governmt the Indian trade " etc. [4]

The incumbents of all these offices for the time being were appointed by Colonel Dongan,[5] and the mayor and sheriff were in future to be appointed once a year by the Governor " by &

[1] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, pp. 195 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 202–203.

with the Advice of his Council," but an important change was made in the manner of choosing the six aldermen and six assistants. Instead of the old practice of qualified coöptation, these councillors were, hereafter, to be elected yearly, two aldermen and two assistants " by the Majority of voyces of the Inhabitants of each ward." [1] The chamberlain or treasurer was to be appointed yearly by the mayor and council.[2] The mayor, recorder and aldermen were given a limited jurisdiction as judges of common pleas and also created justices of the peace,[3] a provision whose legality was brought in question almost a hundred years later.[4] In like manner the mayor was made *ex officio* coroner; [5] and the town clerk, " Clerke of the Peace and clerke of the Courts of Sessions or County Courts." [6] This office of town clerk was really in the gift of the Crown, but in defect of a crown appointment the charter empowered the governor to fill the office,[7] a power which later led to troublesome complications in the case of the author of this *Abridgment*.[8] Dongan appointed to the clerkship Robert Livingston.[9]

For us the most important phase of the powers of the Albany council under the charter was its control of Indian relations and trade. With this must be coupled the provision of the charter which made all participation in that trade a monopoly open only to Albanians — a provision which the council in their capacity as magistrates were expressly authorized to enforce — " whereas amongst other ye Rights Privilidges Preheminences & Advantages which the Cittizens and ffremen of the sd Citty of Albany & their Predecessors have for many Yeares last past held used & enjoyed the Privilidge Preheminence & Advantage of haveing

[1] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, p. 205. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 214–215.

[4] In 1771 the chief justice and other justices informed the Governor that the Albany magistrates who acted as justices of the peace could not legally sit as a court of Oyer and Terminer or General Gaol Delivery. *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xxvi, pp. 222, 293; *N. Y. MSS.*, xcvii, p. 53; xcviii, p. 108.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, p. 207.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[7] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 204–205.

[8] *Post*, p. 6.

[9] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, p. 202.

within their owne Walls the Sole Managmt of the Trade with all the Indians Liveing within & to the Eastward Northward and Westward of the said County of Albany within the Compasse of his said Majestyes Dominion here wch hath been from time to time Confirmed to them & their said Predecessors as well by Prescription as by Divers and Sundry Grants Orders Confirmacons & Proclamations Granted Ordered Confirmed and issued forth not only by & from Divers Governo's and Commanders in Cheife in the said Province since the same hath been under his said Majestyes Dominion but also of Severall Governours Generall & Commanders in Cheife of the Neither Dutch Nacon whilst the same was or has been under their Power and Subjeccon which has Alwayes been found by Experience to be of Greate Advantage not only to the said Citty in Particular butt to the whole Province in Generall and that by the Care Caution and Inspection of the Magistrates of the said Citty to the well and Orderly management & Keeping the Trade with the Indians within their walls it has turned Vastly to the Advancement of Trade and the increase of his Majestyes Revenue and been the Sole meanes not only of Preserving this Province in Peace & Quiett whilst the Neighbouring Colonyes were imbrued in Blood & Warr but also of Putting an end to the Miseryes those Colonyes Laboured under from the Insulting Cruilty of the Northern Indians whereas on the other hand it has been no lesse evident that whenever there has been any Slacknesse or Remissenesse in the Regulacon & keeping the Indian Trade within the Walls of the sd Citty Occasioned by the encroachmt of Some Persons trading with the Indians in Places remote some Clandestinly others upon p'tence of Hunting Passes and the Like ye trade not only of the said Citty but of the whole Province has Apparently Decreased the Kings Revenue has been much impaired & not only Soe but this Governmt has lost much of the Reputacon and Management amongst the Indians which it otherwise had and enjoyed WHEREFORE for and on behalfe of his Majesty his Heires and Successors I have Given Granted Ratified and Confirmed and by these Presents Doe Give Grant Ratifie and Confirme unto the Mayor Aldermen & Comonalty of the said Citty of Albany and their Successors

forever the Right Privilidge Preheminence and Advantage of the Sole & only Managmt of the Trade with the Indians as well within this whole County as without the same to the Eastward Northward and Westward thereof so farr as his Maties Dominion here does or may extend to be Managed & Transacted only by the ffreemen being Actuall Inhabitants within the sd Citty & within the Now Walls or Stockados thereof and not else where And I Do hereby for his said Majesty his Heires and Successors Absolutely forbid and Prohibite all and every the Inhabitants of the said Province of New Yorke (the Inhabitants of the said Citty of Albany only Excepted) to Trade or traffique with any of the five Nations of Indians Called the Sinicas Cayugaes Onondagues Oneides & Maquas who live to the Westward or with any other Indian or Indians whatsoever within the County of Albany or to the Eastward Northward or Westward thereof so ffarr as his sd Majestyes Dominions here do or may extend or to have or keepe in their Houses or else where any Indian Goods or Marchandizes upon the Payne & Penalty of the fforfeiture and Confiscacon of such Indian Comodityes. . . . "[1]

The charter also empowers the mayor and council, and these alone to admit outsiders as "free Cittizens" entitled to share in this trade monopoly and other privileges in Albany.[2]

These provisions simply authorize the continuance of regulations which had been in force under the Dutch régime and had not been disturbed in the interval between the English conquest and 1686, but they are of importance as a proof, not merely that the English received the Indian administration of their predecessors, but also that New York, though an English province, at this time either approved or at least felt obliged to continue an Indian policy which very properly subjected her to the suspicion of other English colonies, and at a later period to the criticism even of her own citizens. The blame for the continuance of this policy cannot be laid upon the Dutch alone, as is done by the English in the eighteenth century, though they were doubtless the greatest gainers by it; it is something in which the English provincial government must share. Hard as this policy was on

[1] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, pp. 210–212. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

New England, it was a very natural one for New York to adopt, if we consider the weakness of the bonds that united the English colonies in that day, and remember the immense difficulty of the Indian problem itself with the hostile French and their Indians without, the more or less disaffected Dutch within in actual control of the trade, and the wily Iroquois between fully able to take advantage of the situation.

The citizens of Albany were not slow to put into effect the powers conferred on them by the new charter. In the long ordinance of 1686, they make specific rules for the effective control of their trade monopoly with severe penalties for its infringement and a clause empowering the magistrates to administer an *ex officio* oath to persons suspected.[1] This is the beginning of a long series of regulations of this kind in Albany.[2]

Governor Dongan's administration may be considered the first important international phase of the New York fur trade. Dongan was one of the first, if not the very first, Englishman to see the vital connection of trade and policy, and to understand the immensity of the issues involved in Indian relations on the North American continent. " as for y^e^ Ottowawaes," he wrote, " and y^e^ Indyans that wear Pipes through there noses, and all those nations who liue west and S: west from hence, they haue traded at this toune, ever since it has been setled, which is above three score and ten yeares. . . . They are now fast to us, and are very considerable, and we must keep them soe, for if they were otherwise, they are able to ruine all y^e^ Kings Collonyes in those Parts of America. . . . we must build forts in y^e^ countrey upon y^e^ great Lake, as y^e^ french doe, otherwise we loose y^e^ Countrey, the Bever trade and our Indians." [3]

He was fully aware of the activities of the French in the interior, who, he wrote home, are " making a pretence as far as the Bay of Mexico." [4]

[1] *N. Y. MSS.*, xxxiv, pt. 2, p. 10.

[2] They are to be found in the minutes of the Albany Council, printed in Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, i–ix, *passim*.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, pp. 510–511. See also *ibid.*, p. 430.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 394–395.

Once alive to its real importance, Dongan was the last man through inaction to allow this trade to slip away to the French. He planned forts at strategic points, such as Lake Champlain, Niagara, and elsewhere.[1] During his administration New York traders for the first time passed beyond the Senecas' country in search of furs;[2] and he himself was largely responsible for the sending out of a party to trade with the Indians near Michillimakinac.[3] Not much came of any of these schemes, it is true. Macgregorie, the leader of his trading party, was captured and carried off to Canada, the apathy of the provincials, the indifference of James II,[4] and the opposition of the Five Nations themselves prevented the building of any forts, and Dongan's active efforts had to be confined to humbler things; but his eye was the first to penetrate the vast designs of the French, and the importance of trade as a means of furthering and also of defeating them. He noted the success of their missionary efforts among the Caughnawagas, with its consequent dangers for New York; and there was no important means afterward employed by English administrators to block these French schemes that Dongan had not directly or indirectly proposed or attempted to carry out. His successors had not his clearness of sight. The next New York governor who showed signs of appreciating the significance of Indian relations was Governor Bellomont. "Without doubt," he wrote in 1699, "the French King sets a great value on Canada, and takes such measures as will quickly extend his dominions in this part of the world, further than is consistent with the interest of England. . . . this Province by its scituation (being much in the center of the other Colonies) challenges a preference to all the rest and ought to be looked upon as the capital Province or the Cittadel to all the others; for secure but this, and you secure all the English Colonies, not only against the French, but also against any insurrections or rebellions against the Crown of England, if any such should happen, which God forbid."[5] Bello-

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, p. 477. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 395.

[3] *Ibid.* For some notices of this expedition led by Colonel Patrick Macgregorie, see *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, pp. 476, 516, 520, 523, 525, 526–527; ix, pp. 318, 363.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 504.

[5] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 505.

mont saw also the need of enlisting the other English governors in a common effort to secure the trade with the "far Indians," [1] and fully realized the importance of the Five Nations as "the only Barriere at present between the French of Canada and Virginia & Maryland, as well as between the French and New York." [2] "I pretend to be able to demonstrate," he wrote to the Lords of Trade, "that if the Five Nations should at any time in conjunction with the Eastern Indians and those that live within these plantations, revolt from the English to the French, they would in a short time drive us quite out of this Continent." [3] His plan to avert this danger was much the same as Dongan's, by building forts on the line of trade and thus diverting their furs to the English. By it he thought to gain over the Indians, "set the French at defiance and laugh at all their projects to circumvent us, their new settlement at Mechisipi and Canada and Nova Scotia put together." [4] But like Dongan he failed to take account of colonial indifference and Indian opposition. Five hundred pounds were granted by the government in England to build a sod fort in the Onondaga country,[5] but the governor's advocacy was enough to rouse the opposition of the Anti-Leislerian party in New York, who were sufficiently strong to prevent the raising in the province of the additional sum necessary,[6] though legislation had been enacted for the purpose.[7] The governor in his calculations had also overlooked the possibility of hostility among the Indians themselves. Acting on their settled principle of opposition to all direct relations between the whites and the far Indians they now requested the governor to "forbidd peoples coming to trade in our country." [8] This Bellomont believed to be the result of a "trick" of Colonel Schuyler and his party to put the Indians "out of conceit with our building a fort in the Onondages Country, as 'tis not doubted but they have." [9] Thus the petty quarrels of the colony, and the policy of the Indians worked together to defeat the governor's schemes, while

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv, p. 590.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 609.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 638. *Cf.* also p. 677.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 834.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 704, 832.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 716; v, p. 500.
[7] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, pp. 432, 444.
[8] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv, p. 741.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 783. For an account of the factional quarrel, see *ibid.*, p. 791.

at home the Lords of Trade advised the King to do nothing about the forts till the other colonies would " contribute in some due proportion to so necessary a Work." [1]

In the war which broke out in 1702, the trade was naturally forgotten. It is only after the Peace of Utrecht, in the term of Governor Hunter, that it again assumes any great importance. By Article XV of the treaty the Canadians were forbidden to molest the Five Nations of Indians " subject to the Dominion of Great Britain," while the English were in like manner not to molest the French Indians. Both sides were to have liberty to come and go for purposes of trade, and the Indians were to be entirely free to go to either French or English as they chose. But exactly who were subjects of France and England respectively was a question reserved for determination by a commission to be appointed at some future time.[2] The vagueness and ambiguity of this article led to much controversy, but its value to the English probably lay more in its justification of acts already done by English traders than in its encouragement to further trade. The cessation of hostilities had a far greater effect in stimulating trade than any terms of the treaty, and there is a marked revival after the peace in which New York took an increasing share, a share, however, which might possibly have been greater, but for the English goods which after the treaty continued to find their way from New York to Montreal, as they had all through the war.[3] In 1717 Governor Hunter complained to the Five Nations of " that pernicious trade which I am sure is hurtfull to both of us and only serves to put money in the pockets of a few traders." [4] The Indians in their reply clearly indicated the cause and suggested the remedy: " our people are furnished with other goods also at the said French trading house as clothing and other necessaries, which stops a great deal of peltry coming hither; but the French are supply'd with all

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv, p. 705.

[2] *A General Collection of Treatys*, iii, p. 433.

[3] For a scholarly modern account of the factional disputes which so complicated the Indian question in New York at this time, see *Phases of Royal Government in New York, 1691–1719*, by Charles Worthen Spencer, Columbus, Ohio, 1905.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 485.

those goods from the people here at Albany which goes first to Canada and from thence up Mont Royal river and so to Terondoquat, where the French trading house is built upon ground belonging to the Sennekas. If you will stop that trade of goods being carried from hence to Canada the other trade will fall of course." [1]

In 1720, Brigadier Hunter, just returning from his governorship in New York, testified before the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations that this trade in Indian goods carried from New York to Canada amounted to ten or twelve thousand pounds annually.[2] In the same year Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian affairs, presented to Peter Schuyler, the acting governor, a notable memorial on Indian relations, in which he deplores "The furnishing the French and their Indians of Canada with goods from hence, whereby they not only supply the farr Indians and Engroce that trade to themselves, who otherwise must come here to buy them, and by that means secure them to their interest to assist them upon occasion and engage them to be our Enemies." [3] To correct this he proposes "That a stop be made for 3 months for all Indian goods going to Canada." This is the first proposal of definite legislative action to stop the trade to Canada. On September 17, 1720, William Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, took charge of the government.[4] The years of Governor Burnet's administration are among the most important in the history of the New York Indian trade. His term is mainly important for two things: the founding of Oswego, and the enactment of legislation to stop the trade with Canada in Indian goods. Governor Burnet was, like his father, a man of active mind, generous impulses, rapid, and at times hasty judgment. He seems to have mapped out his policy in regard to Indian matters — one of his most important problems — very soon after his arrival in New York. He was a friend of his predecessor, Governor Hunter, and elected to continue his policy and put confidence in his friends. The most important of

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 486.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 552.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 559–561.
[4] *Calendar of N. Y. Council Minutes*, p. 6; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 573.

these were Colonel Lewis Morris, Chief Justice of the province, James Alexander, Cadwallader Colden and Robert Livingston [1] — none of them Dutch names. To make friends with this party inevitably meant to make enemies of the opposing faction, former enemies of Governor Bellomont, among whose most active members were Peter Schuyler, Adolf Philipse, and Stephen Delancey, the latter the richest man in the colony, if not in North America, and the principal factor in the trade with Canada. The Indian policy of the administration was thus foreshadowed, and also the factional disputes of the next ten years.

On November third, less than two months after the Governor's arrival, Colonel Morris presented a bill in the Assembly " for the Encouragement of the Indian Trade," [2] which became a law on November 19th,[3] — " the source of an unreasonable opposition against him [Burnet], which continued through his whole administration." [4] By this act it was made unlawful for any one, directly or indirectly, to barter or sell to any subject of the French King or on behalf of such person, " any of the Cloaths knowne by the Name of Stroud waters, Duffales or Trucking Cloth, Indian blankets, Indian Coates, halfthicks, Gunns, Kettles, Stokins, Shirts, flints Steeles, all blades, Swords, pistoles, Powder, Lead or any other Goods or Commodities Commonly Called or knowne by the Name of Indian Goods or Commodities, or taken deemed Esteemed or Understood to be Indian Goods or Commodities." All such goods if employed in this trade were to be forfeited, and in addition a penalty of £100 current money of the province was imposed for each offence, to be recovered before any two justices of the peace, the mayor of Albany, or the commanding officer at Albany, Schenectady, or Fort Hunter. One half the fine was to be applied to the fortifications in the colony, the other half, with all the forfeited goods, was to go to the informer. Any such goods found in the province north of a line drawn through Albany were to be confiscated, and their owner deemed a violator of the act. The high sheriff of Albany was empowered to search,

[1] Smith's *History of New York* (1814), pp. 240–241.
[2] *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 445.
[3] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, p. 8.
[4] Smith's *History of New York* (1814), p. 242.

by breaking and entering if necessary, any building or conveyance where it was suspected such goods might be hidden. Goods might be seized by the informer, and upon oath of one or more credible witnesses that they were found in the forbidden territory, the mayor or commanding officer before whom the goods were brought might issue his warrant for the arrest and commitment of the owner until the value of the goods and the fine were paid. When the owner could not be found, his goods and chattels might be distrained and sold. One of the provisions that turned out to be most necessary was one imposing a penalty of £500 upon any official empowered by the act to try offences under it who failed to condemn discovered goods, refused to issue a warrant, or agreed to compound with an offender for a sum less than the amount provided by the act.

As a result of this act Burnet prophesied that "Monreal will sink to nothing which now flourishes by its Trade with Albany. . . . I expect no less than restoring our influence over the Five Nations and drawing new nations of Indians through their means to trade with and depend on us." [1]

The need of some such remedy seems obvious, if we may believe the testimony of the party advocating the stopping of the Canada trade. In a single year Colden says 900 pieces of strouds had been carried to Canada, besides other Indian goods,[2] and Governor Bellomont in 1700, reported that English woolens were much cheaper at Quebec and Montreal than at Albany, as a result of this direct trade from New York.[3] Any interference with it would naturally be opposed by certain powerful merchants, because, as Colden says, "they sold large quantitys of Goods without any trouble the French taking them from their Doors whereas the trade with the Indians is carried on with a great deal of Toil and Trouble and as to the Interest of the Country they either never thought any thing about it or if they did, had no regard to it." [4]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 577. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 729. [3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 792.

[4] *Memorial on the Fur Trade, N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 732. In a letter printed in the London Edition of Colden's *Five Nations*, the Author, J. A. Esq. [James Alexander] says, "the French were chiefly supplied by one Gentleman at New-York, who almost entirely engrossed the Indian Trade of this Province, and thereby ac-

It is hard to estimate whether this plan of starving out the Canadians by shutting off the source of their supply of Indian goods at New York would have succeeded under favorable conditions. Our chief source of information in regard to it is the records of the Indian commissioners, which, it must be remembered, were kept by the Indian secretary, Robert Livingston, the chief advocate of the plan, a partisan of Burnet, a bitter enemy for both public and private reasons of Delancey, Philipse, and Schuyler, and a man who had many private interests of his own at stake. Notwithstanding this, no charges of falsification of these records, so far as I know, were ever brought against Livingston, though accusations of almost everything else were at one time or another made against him.[1] We are warranted in assuming that these records, drafted by Livingston, with the knowledge of all the Albany commissioners, some of whom were hostile to Burnet's policy, contain a substantially accurate account of the working of the new legislation. The Act of 1720 seems to have produced substantial results, even though the forbidden trade with Canada was never entirely stopped. "I find," says Wraxall, "that the Trade at Albany with the far Indians began again to revive & that they had hopes of its increasing. There is no doubt this was owing to Gov^r^ Burnets prohibition of the Trade from Albany to Canada w^ch^ was a wise exsalent measure."[2] He reports that in 1721, some Indians came to Albany from near Detroit for the first time in twenty years.[3] In May and June of the same year, Indians of six different nations came to Albany to trade and entered into treaties of peace with the English there — "All this was the Effect of the prohibition of the Trade with Canada, and y^e^ Commiss^rs^ tell the Indians so."[4] In 1722, even some of the Ottawas braved the French displeasure and visited Albany.[5] In the next year eighty men besides women and

quired a very great Estate and Influence," ii, p. 58 (1902). This gentleman was in all probability Stephen Delancey, and it was no doubt by his influence largely that the legislation enacted under Governor Burnet was ultimately repealed.

[1] In 1721 he was succeeded in the office by his son Philip Livingston, whose attitude and partisanship were the same as his father's. *Post*, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii. *New York Civil List* (1889), pp. 221, 533.

[2] *Post*, p. 135.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

children from several tribes on Lake Erie came to Albany " & bring with them the Calumet or Pipe of Peace." [1] A month or two later more Indians came from several remote nations and reported that Indians beyond them want to find if the way is open to Albany.[2] In 1724, the French succeeded by promises and threats in turning away thirty canoes of skins on their way to Albany from Indians who had never been to Albany before, but some Indians reached there notwithstanding.[3] In September, 1725, the number of skins coming from the westward was three times the number from Canada, and the commissioners reported that in the spring and summer of that year fifty-two canoes had been brought to Albany from the far Indians, that nearly one hundred persons were employed in the trade, each making two trips among the Indians in a season, and that over 788 bundles of skins had been thus obtained, besides forty-three canoes brought by the far Indians themselves, amounting to two hundred bundles. The number of beaver and deer skins coming from Canada in the same period was only 176 bundles.[4] So hard to obtain were the Indian goods in Canada as a result of the legislation in New York that the French Indians were sent by the Canadians to obtain goods in Albany under pretence of complaining of the hostility of the New England colonists.[5]

His examination of the Indian records of this period satisfied Wraxall of the wisdom of Governor Burnet's policy: " The surprizing concourse of the Far Indians to Albany who formerly traded with the French, since the prohibition of the Trade to Canada, is an irrefragable Proof of the great advantage of that prohibition & as Trading is the Only Cement to bind the Indians to our Interest, if proper methods had been taken to fix and extend this Channel of Trade, . . . the French might have been . . . rendered incapable of disturbing the British Settlements in N. America." [6]

" I now flatter myself that the most difficult part is over," wrote Governor Burnet in 1723, " since the very Traders of

[1] *Post*, p. 144.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 159–160.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Albany who were fond of Trading to Canada, generally confess their error and that since the remote Indians will come to them they ought not to share that trade with the French, which they may keep wholly to themselves." [1] "It is the opinion of many here," says Colden, "that by the arts of Peace, with the assistance of a less sum than the tenth of what the expedition to Canada cost the Nation the settlement of Canada would be rendered useless to the French, and that they would be obliged to abandon it.[2]

Notwithstanding the governor's optimism, it was very unlikely that a trade which had never been interrupted even by war would be stopped entirely by any penalties the government of New York could impose. The commissioners were forced to report early in 1722, that the forbidden trade to Canada was being carried on "by certain Persons in Albany," [3] and the greatest difficulty about the whole matter was that the officials who alone could make the new law effective were often themselves the worst offenders against it, while the governor himself unwittingly furthered the contraband trade by a too liberal distribution of passes to Canada.[4] To meet the evasions of the law, a supplemental act of the most drastic kind was passed in 1722 "for the further and more Effectual Prohibiting of the Selling Indian Goods to the French." [5] It allowed any of the officers mentioned in the former act to compel persons suspected of carrying on the prohibited trade to declare upon oath that they had not within a given time in any manner directly or indirectly traded in the forbidden articles with French subjects, and also that they had no knowledge, directly or indirectly, of any other person's doing so. One who refused this oath was *ipso facto* adjudged guilty of trading unlawfully and at once became subject to all the penalties therefor provided in the former act. Any official who failed to perform his duty in administering this oath became liable to a fine of £200, and was made incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under the government.

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 685. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 687. [3] *Post*, p. 139.
[4] *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, pp. 473–474.
[5] *Ibid.*, i, p. 475. Text in *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, pp. 98 *et seq.*

The governor, as the son of the great Whig historian, knew too much history not to be aware that this law might meet with objection at home, as appears from his apologetic letter to the Lords of Trade written in December, 1722.[1] Technically, the provision was probably not illegal, as the English act of 1661, which in effect abolished the oath *ex officio*, even though it might be construed to be in affirmance of the Common Law — a doubtful point — and, therefore, ordinarily in effect in after-acquired colonies, applied solely to oaths administered by ecclesiastical officers. But legal or illegal, the New York act was contrary to the spirit under which English institutions had been developing, at least since 1640. Burnet's excuse, like that of Elizabeth's High Commission, was that such means were necessary to detect offences which must be stopped, though no witnesses could be introduced to prove them. In his favor it must be admitted that this was true, on account of the nature of the wild and uninhabited country through which the trade passed. Such provisions as this had also existed under his predecessors in New York, Dutch and English, and are to be found in laws submitted from other colonies and allowed by the Privy Council;[2] and if ever justification existed for suspecting men until they purged themselves, it might be assumed to exist in Albany. Nevertheless, the provision was unpopular in New York and disliked in England, and deservedly so. There are numerous accounts in the Indian records for 1723 of the administering of this oath and some cases of refusal to take it.

Aided by these objections and by sundry quarrels and mistakes of the governor, which cannot be traced here, the opposition in New York became stronger from day to day. In 1725, the Indian trade laws were reënacted, but only for a short period, and a systematic campaign was begun to prevent their extension further, leading to the publication of a remarkable series of papers on both sides which give us invaluable information in regard to the whole trade and include Colden's important history of the Five Nations.[3] Burnet's opponents asserted that the Canadian trade

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 682. [2] *Ante*, p. lxi. *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, p. 830.

[3] These papers are for the most part printed in volume v of the *New York Colo-*

had " enabled our Merchants to carry on a considerable Trade with *Great-Britain*, to the mutual Advantage of that Kingdom and this Colony " while the result of the prohibitory acts had been that " Strouds did thereupon immediately, . . . rise to a very high and extraordinary Price amongst the *French* at *Canada*, which tended only to the Benefit of such, as clandestinely, and in Contempt of the said Law, supply them therewith; but it did at the same Time, put the *French* upon Measures to procure those Goods (if not equal to the *English*, yet in Imitation of, and somewhat near them) from *France* and other Parts, if not directly from *England*, wherein they succeeded so effectually, that their Storehouses soon filled, and they abounded in Strouds and other *Indian* Goods; after which they forbad the Importation of them from, and the Exportation of Furs to this Colony, . . . whereupon that Trade, which consumed vast Quantities of the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, and was supported by return of Beaver, Furs and Peltry, was diverted from its former Channel, and in Danger of being engrossed by the French." [1] They declared that since the passage of the acts the exports of furs from New York to Great Britain had declined, as well as the imports of Indian goods, and that the vaunted increase in the direct trade with the Indians in their own country

nial Documents, pp. 707, 711, 725, 734, 740, 743, 745, 749, 756, 757, 760. Among the most important papers on the governor's side are Colden's excellent memorial on the New York Fur Trade, *ibid.*, p. 726, and the Minutes of the New York Council on the Matter, Colden's *Five Nations* (1902), ii, pp. 13 *et seq.* Most of the points made against the merchants are drawn from a report made by a committee of the Indian Commissioners late in 1724. Robert Livingston, Jr., was head of this committee and no doubt drew up this report. These arguments, which are frequently said to have originated with Colden, undoubtedly first came from Livingston. The report is given in volume ii of the original Indian records under date of November 12, 1724, and is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, p. 740.

A good summary of the opposing position is to be found in the *New York Assembly Journals*, i, pp. 620-622. Colden's *Five Nations* was first printed in New York in 1727. It was later published with additions and some changes not authorized by Colden, in two volumes, at London. The second part, which was new, contained an appendix, which included some of the above papers. A reprint of the original New York edition, edited by J. G. Shea, was published in New York in 1866.

[1] *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 621.

really amounted to nothing but a secret and unlawful interchange with French trappers or agents.[1]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, pp. 743–744, 746–748, 750–756, 760–763. On July 6, 1724 the Indian commissioners wrote to the governor, "There have been no far Ind^{ns} since last April & those that Intend to come are Stop'd in their way hither by our People that go up to trade, whether any will come to this place [Albany] is much doubted." *Original Indian Records*, ii.

It is very evident that Burnet suspected the commissioners of suppressing the facts concerning the increase of trade produced by the acts. On July 27, 1725 the commissioners wrote to him, "We have been honoured with your Ex^{lys} favours of y^{e} 9th Instant we hope your El^{ys} will not accuse us with Concealing y^{e} good success of the trade on the Lake, with the farr Indians which has been attended this year with a fair prospect of answering you Ex^{lys} Expectation, tho with Submission to y^{r} Ex^{ly} we are still humbly of opinion y^{t} the trade will not be Effectually brought thither only with y^{e} cheapness of goods." *Ibid.*

It seems probable that the direct trade nad increased at Oswego — whether as a result of the prohibition of trade with Canada or of the establishment of the post and the encouragement of independent white traders to enter the field, it would be hard to say. But this meant a decrease of business at Albany as well as among the Iroquois, and neither Albanians nor Iroquois could be expected to be pleased at it.

Burnet's whole Indian policy, both his encouragement of individual traders and the establishment of Oswego, on the one hand; and the prohibition of the trade in Indian goods to Canada, on the other; must be looked at from two points of view: as imperial and international policy; and as purely economic measures. Both parts of the plan were infinitely complicated by the position of the Iroquois and their relationship to the Caughnawagas; but it should probably be said that from the imperial point of view the fostering of a direct trade and the founding of Oswego were advisable. The cutting off of the Canada trade might also be justified from this point of view. The significance of the blow struck by Burnet at the Iroquois interests through the founding of Oswego and the establishment of a direct trade must not be overlooked. It greatly alarmed the Indians, and this alarm was cleverly used by Burnet's enemies. But a sufficient justification of this policy probably existed in the lessened importance of the Iroquois, due to the great diminution of their numbers, a tendency which Burnet clearly saw was likely to continue.

On the purely economic side, the question is much more debatable. It is impossible to say whether in the long run under effective regulation the direct trade would have grown greater and more profitable than the trade to Canada which was incompatible with it. The final withdrawal of the French from the continent in the end disposed of the whole matter, but for a long period the struggle of these two fundamentally opposite points of view explains much of New York's peculiar history. On the economic side much may be said for the position of the large dealers in New York and their London correspondents against the able arguments of Burnet's party.

Essentially the struggle was between the small traders and the great merchants, retailers against wholesalers. Burnet's policy as defended by Colden, Alexander and others was first suggested by the Livingstons, whose interests were and continued to be bound up in this direct retail trade; while Delancey, Philipse and the wholesalers were the centre of the opposition. The clash of the interests of these

The gist of the whole question really lay in the claim made by Burnet and denied by his enemies, that Indian goods could not be procured in New France from any source but New York at rates which would enable French traders to compete with the English in the Indian country. The Council pointed to the fact that strouds, selling at Albany for £10 a piece, brought £13 2s. and 6d. at Montreal before the passing of the act, and £25 after it. Colden gave illustrations to show that the difficulties and dangers of navigation, both of sea and river, in Canada, coupled with governmental restrictions on trade, made it absolutely impossible for the Canadians by any means whatsoever to obtain elsewhere than in New York goods for their trade upon terms which would enable them to compete with the English goods, brought by the easier route by way of New York, the Hudson, Mohawk and Oswego rivers to the shores of Lake Ontario. Whatever the merits of this question, however, Burnet's party were steadily losing ground in the colony, and the assaults of the interested London correspondents of the New York merchants opposed to the act were having the effect upon the Ministry in England that such tactics always had in the eighteenth century, while the administration of the acts was lax and the evasions of it many. The majority of the Albany commissioners at this time were on the side of the governor, probably because they were small rather than large traders, and their reports state their belief that the law was systematically violated by the most influential men of Albany, and that perjury was often made use of to evade the penalty.[1] By the time of the opening of the session of the

two groups goes far toward explaining the economic basis of the controversy. Burnet's adhesion to the Livingston party may have been due to his belief that their measures fitted in better with his own far-reaching policy of extending English influence toward the west through Indian alliances. On account of the many elements in the problem, it would be rash to attempt to say theoretically — and it could now be treated in no other way — which plan was the sounder on the economic side.

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, pp. 740–742. On this Wraxall has preserved an interesting letter of the Albany commissioners to Governor Burnet, October, 1724, *post*, p. 156. For October 8th the following entry occurs in the minutes of the provincial Council: "His Excellency Communicated to this Board a Letter from Edmund Blood Commanding Officer at Mount Burnet to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs Setting forth that he had Seized fifty eight pieces of Strouds waters carrying along

Assembly in April, 1726, even Burnet was forced to admit that it was practically impossible wholly to prevent the Canada trade.

towards Canada by Nicholas Schuyler Son of Phillip Schuyler and Jacob Wendell Son of Harmanus Wendell and another whose face he Could not See — together with Twenty or Thirty Indians and that after he had Seized them and put the broad arr upon every piece the Said Company took them away by fforce.

" His Excellency also communicated to this Board an Affidavit made by Charles Buckley Serjeant of the Garrison at Mount Burnet before Peter Vanbrugh Esq[r] Mayor of the City of Albany Setting forth the particular Circumstances of the Said Seizure and that at his first meeting with the Said Company he told Jacob Wendell that he was Sorry to See him there who Replyed if it had not been for his father he had not been there.

" His Excellency also Communicated to this Board the Minutes of the Said Commissioners of Indian Affairs by which it appears that they had called the said Harmanus Wendell before them and in his being Examined concerning the Said Strouds did acknowledge that he knew Something of Nicholas Schuyler and his own Son whom he had Sold a parcell Strouds and thought perhaps they were going towards Canada or Tuschachrondie [Detroit] with them which being read and Considered of by this Board together with the Acts of Assembly of this Province concerning the carrying of Indian Goods to the french and particularly that passed in the Seventh year of his Majesty's Reign.

" *This Board* is of Opinion that the said Harmanus Wendell is a Seller of Indian Goods within the very words and meaning of the Said Acts passed in the Seventh year of his Majestys Reign and that the Commissioners aforesaid do with all care and Dilligence put the Said Acts in Execution against the Said Harmanus Wendell, Jacob Wendell and Nicolas Schuyler and all others concerned when discovered." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xiv, pp. 353–354.

This " opinion " is certainly curious, in a non-judicial proceeding. The Council at this time was strongly on the side of the administration. On October 28, 1724 a warrant issued to compel the tendering of the oath to Nicholas Schuyler and Jacob Wendell (*Original Indian Records*, ii), but on January 7, 1724/5 the commissioners informed the governor that the oath was not to be tendered to them since they were regarded as already discovered in the act of violating the law. *Ibid.* In the course of a few months Schuyler was arrested. He asked to be taken to the sheriff's house and kept there until bedding and other necessaries could be provided at the gaol. But, the commissioners solemnly record, " as they went along together Mr. Schuyler made his escape." *Ibid.*, May 6, 1725. There seems to be no record of the arrest of Wendell.

On August 12 of the same year the commissioners wrote to Governor Burnet, " We have Issued Severall Summonces to the Sherrif to bring Sundry Suspected psons as p Inclosed List before us to tender the oath unto them provided by y[e] act, but none can be taken we do what lyes in our power to prevent all Illegal trade but find it to Little purpose for Strowds is plentifully (it is said) Conveyd to the french as well by way of onnondage River as directly from hence to montreal " *Ibid.*

By the act of assembly November 25, 1727, it is recited that Nicholas Schuyler and Jacob Wendell " having traded with the French contrary to the Laws of this

"I wish I could say," he complains in his opening speech, "the Laws for promoting a Trade with the far *Indians*, and prohibiting it with *Canada*, had been as duly executed as they were well intended; and I leave it to your Consideration, whether a Method less severe may not be more Effectual." [1] As a result a tax on the trade was substituted for the total prohibition, the goods taken to the north paying double the amount paid by those going westward. The duties were to be farmed, and all traders were required twice a year to render upon oath an account of all their transactions, including a statement that they had not violated the act. Refusal to take this oath subjected the trader to a fine of £300. A significant clause exempted all who complied with these conditions from all penalties under the former acts, and provided that all penalties already due were to be remitted on payment of £30 if the illicit trade had been to the westward, or £100 if toward the north.[2] In the acts passed later to supply defects or omissions in the original act, no further important change of principle occurs, but the nature of the defects is highly significant. The preamble of the act of November, 1726, for example, recites the facts "that Even some of the Farmers themselves have Absolutely refused to Enter and give an account to the other ffarmers of the dutiable Goods they already have Transported to the Northwards and Westward of Albany or which they hereafter Intend to transport Thither"; [3] and that "even those who afterwards became Farmers in manner as aforesaid did (As it is Credibly Alledged). . . . Send Carry or Transport Vast Quantitys of Dutiable Goods both to the Northward and Westward of the said City doubtless with a View and Intent to elude the different duties imposed by the Act first mentioned." The main feature of this act was the oath required of the farmers themselves that they had not violated the law. This points to

Colony are ready and willing to pay Each of them the Sum of one hundred pounds for Such their Transgression," and enacted that upon such payment within ten days they shall be exonerated and discharged of all further penalty. *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, p. 384.

[1] *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, ii, p. 281.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, p. 351.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 360 *et seq.*

the chief difficulty in the way of the successful administration of any restrictive acts at Albany, the principal cause for the failure of all Governor Burnet's legislation, and the weakest spot in New York's Indian administration through its whole history. Evidence is not wanting of the continued evasion of the acts by traders and farmers alike, and the acts themselves are witness that even in cases of conviction of breaches of the law, the penalties were often compounded for by the payment of sums considerably smaller than the original fines, — conditions which recall to mind the similar succession of penalties and amnesties in Canada.[1]

[1] The following documents of the years 1728 and 1729 serve to illustrate not merely these difficulties and evasions, and the unpopularity of the law, but also the way in which all this was connected with the bitter factional struggles in the province at that time.

" In obedience to an order in Councill of the 5th of April Instant to make answer to a Complaint Exhibited against me by Rutger Bleecker Esq. Mayor John De Peyster Esq. Recorder Hendrick Roseboom, Barent Sanders and Ryer Gerritse Esq. Aldermen of the City of Albany to which I humbly crave Leave to say, That I acknowledge that the said Recorder by a Resolution of the said Mayor & Aldermen on the 5th of March Last Pressed on me to take the Oath directed to be taken by persons Suspected to have Traded with the Subjects of [the] french King Contrary to the Laws of this Province, Pursuant (as they Alledged) to the directions of an act of Generall Assembly of the Colony of New York Entitled an act for Defraying the Costs & Contingent Charges of the trading house at Oswego & Secondly That by y^e^ directions of the Said act they the Complainants were directed & Injoyned to take Said Oath themselves first in the Literall words as they Insisted I should take It. Before they were qualifyed & Impowered by Vertue of the said act to administer y^e^ Same to me or any other person w^h^ they have not done but made an alteration in the Same in the most materiall part of the said oath & after they had so taken the said oath & before they tendred y^e^ same to me they did not Proceed to putt S^d^ Act in Execution as they were directed by the same all which I am Ready to Verify. As I am not guilty of haveing traded with the Subjects of the french King for Indian goods while y^e^ Laws of this Province have [a word illegible] force to Prohibite the same I offer to take y^e^ oath before your Exl in Councill or before y^e^ s^d^ Mayor Recorder & Aldermen when they shall have quallifyed y^m^ selves in takeing y^e^ s^d^ oath first. which is humbly Submitted to your Ex^l^ Wise & Serious Consideration by May it Please your Ex^y^ Your Ex^y's^ most humble & most obed^t^ servant Ph. Livingston.

N. Y. MSS., lxviii, p. 72. See also *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 584.

The records contain also a deposition by Evert Wendell of the City of Albany that on March 5, 1727–28 he witnessed Ph. Livingston's refusal to take the oath, in which it is said that Livingston pulled a piece of paper from his pocket containing a reservation he demanded to be allowed in his case, saying, " If you will allow me this reservation I have wrote Down here then I will Take the oaths aforesaid otherwise I cant for an oath is a thing of a Great Consequence and not So Easily Taken

Early in 1728, Burnet was rewarded for his services in New York by being transferred against his will to Massachusetts,

altho Some that have already Sworn Could Take the oath Less Than I and I Cant Take the Same without that reservation." He was answered that no reservation could be allowed to any one, " and then I heard Livingston answered the recorder and Smith that they Could allow the aforesaid reservation which he the said Livingstone had wrote upon The paper he shewed them but it was noting but Spite and malice and Severals more heard words which I can not Justly remember which the Said Livingston did Spoke." They then ordered Livingston, as clerk, to enter in the books his own refusal to take the oath, which he refused to do. Whereupon they resolved that the recorder should enter it, but Livingston refused to allow it, put the book in his bosom and left the court house. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxviii, p. 75; *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 584. Like depositions were made by Hendrick Roseboom and Barent Sanders, Alderman of Albany, and by Johannes Vander Hyden. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxviii, pp. 76, 77, 78.

In an act passed on September 20, 1728 the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen " as likewise the Said Town Clerke " are acquitted and discharged of all fines and penalties for not performing their duties under the acts but are forbidden in future " to do or exercise the aforesaid powers and Authorities or any parte thereof," while Rutger Bleeker, Evert Wendell and Ryer Gerritse are made Commissioners " for Recovering the Same in the Same manner and by the Same Methods which in the Said Act was prescribed & directed to be done and performed by the Mayor Recorder and Aldermen aforesaid." *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, p. 485. The next day Philip Livingston in great indignation had inserted in the minutes of the provincial Council a memorandum reciting the fact that when the above act was in committee " he did object to that clause thereof which insinuates that the Town Clerk of Albany had been Guilty of a Breach of an Act therein mentioned and which remits the penalty for that breach he being the said Town Clerk did yesterday in Council and now by these presents doth declare that he was not guilty of any breach of that Act and that he never directly or indirectly desired any remittance of the penalty for any breach of the said Act and prays that this declaration may be Entred in the minutes." *Journal of the Legislative Council of N. Y.*, i, p. 581. The new arrangements lasted a little over a year, as all the acts were disallowed about the end of the year 1729, but the whole affair is characteristic of New York partisan politics at this time. There is nothing in the original Indian records concerning Livingston's actions.

In 1728 the farmers of the tax under the acts submitted their report which contained the names of 27 suspects. These persons were served with summonses to make appearance and the sheriff's returns upon some of these have been preserved and give a good idea of the difficulties preventing the enforcement of the acts: " The Sheriff makes return and Says that as he came out of the Cellar of ye above Johannes Schuyler his Wife, Elizabeth Schuyler was busie to Shut her door, he ran up to her door and found it lock'd on which he said he had two Summonses one for her husband and one for her Son and if she would not accept of them he would leave them there or Bring them in the Cellar Kitchen which he did accordingly the 4th Instant." Philip Verplanck's wife also refused to accept service and at Cornelius Cuyler's house when the sheriff appeared " as soon as he came to the door the door was immediately shut with force." The Livingstons accepted ser-

where he had a short but stormy career as governor. One of the acts of his successor in New York was to announce to the As-

vice, as well as some of the others, but at Johannes Cuyler's the sheriff had to " put y^e^ originall of the above Summons under the door of the dwelling house . . . after having severall times knocked at the door and hearing there was some body in the house. I walked about eight or nine yards when the door was opened and the Summons thrown out." When the sheriff approached David Van Dyck's house Van Dyck " let a person out and as soon as he Saw me Locked the door and then he run back to y^e^ kitchin door which the said David van Dyck bolted though he Saw him and his wife through y^e^ Glass in the door and he told them there was a Summons for y^e^ said Van Dyck and would leave it at the door which he did."

On the second summons to Johannes Schuyler the sheriff returned " that he Tied y^e^ original of the above fast to y^e^ knocker of his door with a string after being Every Day severall times at his house and found the doors and gates all Lock'd and fast."

At the house of Richard Hansen, Hansen's mother was at home but refused service. " Then he strove to fling it in the Said house which he did accordingly but not without a great resistance of his mother Deborah Hanse." *N. Y. MSS.*, lxviii, pp. 104 *et seq.* Some appeared and took the required oath. Jeremiah Schuyler alleged that he had paid his fine for trading west of Albany and refused to take the oath as to the trade to the north. After three summonses the commissioners certified to the sheriff " that Johannes Schuyler Philip Verplanck Edward Collins Cornelius Cuyler Hans Hanse Johannes J^s^ Cuyler David Van Dyck Volckert Outhout and Jacob Verplanck had not appeared and that Jeremiah Schuyler had appeared but refused to take the oath as to the northern trade. *Ibid.*

In the next year Colonel John Schuyler finally appeared before the commissioners and took his oath covering a part of the years 1725–26. He was tendered the oath also for the period from 1722 to 1725, " which oath he refused to take so that he is adjudged Convicted of having traded with y^e^ french Contrary to y^e^ Laws of this Colony within y^e^ Limitation of time aforesaid." Later his receipt is entered for £60. Edward Collins was fined £100 for illegal trading, but was discharged on payment of £60. Philip Verplanck was fined £300 and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Volckert Outhout was also fined £300. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxix, p. 94. David Van Dyck petitioned the assembly to be discharged because " although he had in no Ways traded or trafficked with the *French*, whilst it was prohibited so to do, he owns to have treated with them, (but to no Purpose or Effect) for which Reason he cannot in Conscience take the Oath in that Behalf prescribed, unless the Word (treated) was omitted." *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 597. This permission was granted by act of Assembly, *N. Y. Col. Laws*, ii, pp. 538–539. Johannes Cuyler, Jr. and Volkert Oothout by the same act were to be discharged on payment of £45 apiece because it appeared that they had traded to the westward " upon a Suposition that the Prohibition was Expired." *Ibid.*, p. 539. Jeremiah Schuyler was in like manner to be discharged on payment of £45 in addition to £30 already paid, because, though he had violated the act, he had " carried on no such other Trade, but what he has suffered a considerably loss By! " *Ibid.* All other persons unnamed liable in £100 were likewise to be discharged on payment of £60. *Ibid.*, p. 540. The date of this act was July 12, 1729, when the assembly was hostile to

sembly that the King had disallowed all the acts passed between 1720 and 1729, prohibiting the selling of Indian goods to the French or laying duties on them.[1] Thus ended the hopeless struggle to enforce the laws against the Canada trade. Such legislation was never enacted again in New York. I have given a fairly detailed account of Indian affairs during this short period, believing that such a concrete statement gives a better idea of the conditions of the trade and its management than any number of generalizations. Burnet's administration is well fitted to serve as such an illustration on account of the trade's prominence at that time, and of the governor's great interest in it.

Burnet's party and projects. The petitions of Jeremiah Schuyler and Johannes Cuyler, Jr. are summarized in *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 672. The original Indian records are silent concerning these evasions of the law during the years 1727, 1728 and 1729. There is no doubt that the commissioners themselves were opposed to the Indian trade acts and after Burnet's removal there was nothing to spur them to unwilling action.

[1] *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 606, August 26, 1730. The report of the Lords of the Council advising the repeal, dated November 19, 1729, is in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v, pp. 897–899. They object to the oath of purgation and the conviction for refusal to take it and to the fact that it could be administered by subordinates such as "a Serjeant Corporal or common Soldier." They also take exception to the right of search without the presence of any peace officer "tho' the said Farmers are to gain one mojety by the confiscation."

As to the means by which the repeal was secured Colden many years afterward wrote, "Mr. De Lancey was at the head of the party in the assembly which had been in opposition to Mr. Burnet and which had now [during the administration of Governor Montgomerie, Burnet's successor] the ascendant in that house. Mr. De Lancey was to be gratified in his resentment against Chief Justice Morris and the Gov[r] was to use his interest to have the acts repealed which had been passed in Governor Burnets Administration prohibiting the direct trade to Canada with Indian goods. In consideration of these the Governor had his Sallary secured for five years and all the perquisites which any Governor before him ever had. Both sides punctually performed their ingagements to each other. But it was surprising to me how easily the Board of Trade and Plantations were induced to recommend to the King the repealing of the laws in favor of the direct trade with the Indians and which prohibited the furnishing the French with goods to enable them to carry on that trade to the prejudice to great Britain and of the colonies after all that had been laid before them by Mr. Burnet on that head. They probably thought that the people of New York were only interested in the Indian trade and that it did not concern Gr. Britain. They seem to have had nothing in view at that time but to serve the private purpose of a Governor. Mr. De Lancey had the advantages of his own private trade in view which were very considerable." Colden's Letters on Smith's *History of New York*, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* for the year 1868, pp. 220–221.

Whether Governor Burnet's "favorite project" under more favorable conditions would have succeeded in accomplishing his aim of depriving the French of their Indian trade can never be known. It never had a fair trial. At no time was the Canadian trade really stopped. Most historians, however, from the eighteenth century on seem to be in agreement in praise of his scheme and in denunciation of the narrowness or something worse which brought it to nothing.[1]

It was the other part of Burnet's Indian policy that had lasting results. The building of the fortified trading house at Oswego, brought about by his efforts and in part paid for by money out of his own pocket, must be considered his greatest achievement. Though much had been planned before, on account of the founding of Oswego in 1722, Burnet deserves the credit of being the first man in the English colonies who actually succeeded in doing anything of importance to put a check upon the vast designs of the French upon the great west. The best proof of his success is the French fear and hatred of Oswego.

All parties in New York agreed that the founding of Oswego was a step in advance, many acts were passed, and much money spent by the New York government in keeping up the post and increasing its importance, but the many references in these acts to abuses by the traders there are the best proof that such abuses were never completely prevented. Aside from this the period following the administration of Burnet in New York was more devoted to factional struggles over other things than to the trade and the Indians. Every governor who pursued an aggressive Indian policy at this time met with considerable factional opposition, but such governors were few. Wraxall praises the administration of Lieutenant Governor Clarke for its Indian

[1] Mr. John Austin Stevens is apparently an exception. He believes that "the merchants knew their own interests better than the lawyers" (*Memorial History of N. Y.*, iv, p. 509), a fact which his opponents would probably concede readily enough, as these merchants' interests were too often different from those of the colony. To understand the clashing of the merchants' interest and the governor's policy it must be kept in mind that that policy was primarily imperial and political while the aims and views of the merchants whether expressed by themselves or their echo, the correspondents in London, were essentially local and economic merely.

policy and with reason. The details of Indian administration in this period remained in the hands of the Albany commissioners and the Oswego commissioner who was responsible to them, but as the rivalry between France and England became more bitter with the added years, the problems became more and more important and difficult, and the local board of Albany "handlers" increasingly inadequate to meet them, — a fact which now and then led to protest not only in New York, but in other English colonies, as their interest in the trade and the political results of trade became greater.

In 1738, for instance, the New York Assembly agreed *nem. con.* to a resolution of James Alexander, protesting against the number of commissioners, which had grown to about twenty, with a corresponding increase in expenditure, and proposing an address to the governor to request him to revoke the existing commissions and appoint new commissioners in their place, not more than nine in number, with instructions to "hold all their Meetings with the *Indians* in Some proper Place for that Purpose, in a grave and Solemn Manner, and not in a Tavern; and that they would be as sparing in their own Expences as possible." [1] There is evidence that the trade at this time was growing, thanks largely to Oswego, and with it, of course, the importance of a more careful oversight and a wider outlook on the part of the commissioners. In 1740 James Alexander wrote, "The Indian Trade, to the great Advantage of this Province, is now divided into several hundred Hands, and there have been for many Years past upwards of one hundred young Men of this Province, who have gone yearly among the Indians, to supply them with our Goods.

"By this means, at a modest Estimate, I am assured, that the Indian Trade of this Province is now far above five times as much as when Governor Burnet began to put his Scheme in execution." [2] But the activity of these white men in the Indian country, and the continued influence of Oswego in thus attracting the direct trade and alliance of the western Indians, were not relished by the

[1] *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxii, p. 89; *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, i, p. 744.
[2] Colden, *Five Nations* (1902), ii, p. 58.

Iroquois, and probably would not have been permitted had not the number of their warriors become so small, notwithstanding the recent addition of the Tuscaroras from the southward. This is certainly one of the factors which made the Indian problem so difficult during the two French wars of the middle of the century. It was becoming plain that the local control of Albany over this trade, once suitable enough, was now outgrown and unsatisfactory, while complaints of a graver nature against the commissioners were not wanting.

Indian affairs in time of war were greatly complicated by the unwillingness of the Six Nations to declare open war with the French or their Indians. The New York system of local control of Indian relations had evidently broken down under the strain. These relations had become continental and international. It was impossible that they should longer continue permanently under the control of a single town or even a single colony. The approaching crisis in the struggle between England and France made this evident to all but biassed witnesses, for the Indian relations were all important in that struggle. It is not possible here to take up in detail the quarrel between Governor Clinton and his Assembly which in part turned upon Indian affairs, probably the bitterest quarrel in the annals of a colony disturbed almost continuously by such factional troubles. Some phases of it may, however, serve to bring Wraxall's narrative into a somewhat clearer light.

In a journal of Conrad Weiser — naturally somewhat biassed — written during a journey through the country of the Six Nations in 1745, the author notes many complaints made by the Indians of their treatment by the Albany commissioners. One of them used the following words: " Brother we are Sincible that our Brethren the English named the Governors of N-York Boston, philadelphia Intended no Hurt against us and allways were Kind to us — but Albany people did intent to Hurt us — and have in a manner Ruined us and would prevail upon the foresaid governors to destroy us if they Could — they have Cheated us out of our land Bribed our Chiefes to sign deeds for them. they treat us as slaves. did not suffer the Bostonians to

Come up to us last spring and Compelled us in a manner to give the Bostoniers such an answer as they pleased some weeks ago to Consent their Knavery. They will never suffer us to go to Boston philadelphia or any where Else: upon invitation of our Brethren last spring they stopt the Bostoniers for 10 days would not suffer them to Come to our towns; and, after all, they would not suffer the Bostoniers to speak to us, without it be in their presence, and great many Instances Could be given for which Reason the Indians would no more looke upon the Comissioners as their true friend, and went to Canada on an Invidation of the french governor to show Albany people that they would no more be advised nor Ruled by them. we are heartely inclined for the English Interest but Albany people are not *they have sold many Barrls of gune powder last fall to the french fetched by Some of the praying Indians gone up the Mohawks Rivir and a great deal by Sarraghdogon*, [Saratoga] *which Enabled the french to fight agt. the English* we Could see Albany Burned to the ground or Every Soul taken away by the great King and other people planted there. we desire you to Call upon the governor of New-York and let him Know all this and that the quarrel with Albany will never be made up — They had in a manner made it up by word of mouth; but on both sides only the tongue spoke and not the heart, and that we will never be friends again with Albany people." [1]

Governor Clinton soon reached the same point of view as Weiser and transferred the control of Indian affairs to William Johnson. The assembly under James Delancey's guidance, championed the Albany commissioners. A series of charges and recriminations hardly equalled in our colonial history followed, and is chronicled in the speeches of Clinton to the assembly and their addresses in reply, charges of misuse of funds by the governor or " the next person in the Administration " (Colden) and mismanagement of the Indian relations by Johnson; with countercharges by the governor of disloyalty, peculation and incompetence on the part of the Indian commissioners. From the mass of controversial literature and additional papers, such as the pamphlets of Archibald Kennedy in defence of the administration,

[1] *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxiv, p. 216.

the history of the Indian relations in this period must be written. It has been done by William L. Stone in his life of Sir William Johnson, and later by Miss Keyes in her life of Cadwallader Colden, and by others.[1] With the end of Clinton's stormy term and the close of the war, Indian relations enter a new phase, which ended only at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and the appointment of Colonel William Johnson as sole superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies in 1755.

[1] Such part of the subsequent story as is necessary for our purpose is related below, pp. c–cxvi. For the controversy between Clinton and his assembly over Indian relations see *inter alia*, *N. Y. Assembly Journals*, ii, pp. 124–125, 130–135, 137–139, 147, 148, 149–157, 166, 168–170, 172, 173–178, 202–205, 206 *et seq.*; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 286 *et seq. passim.*

CHAPTER III

THE NEW YORK INDIAN RECORDS, WRAXALL'S ABRIDGMENT, AND ITS AUTHOR

THE abridgment here printed is based upon the records of conferences and transactions between the Indians and the magistrates of the city and county of Albany, who had control of such matters for New Netherland and afterwards for New York. Under the early Dutch régime, when the scope of these dealings seldom extended beyond matters of local importance, titles to neighboring lands and regulation of trade with near-by tribes, such minutes as were kept must have been rather informal, and not very carefully distinguished from the records of other business. But the trade in beaver was peculiar. The eagerness of the traders, as we have seen, soon exterminated the beavers in the neighborhood, and at a remarkably early date the beaver country was pushed into the interior far beyond the regular haunts even of the Five Nations. This, together with the two facts of Albany's unrivalled location near the mouth of the Mohawk, and of the supremacy of its Indian neighbors over the Indians of the interior for a thousand miles, very soon gave to the records of these Dutch traders an international and a continental importance. Before the English conquest, however, there is little indication that these important records were made on any settled plan or preserved with much care. So far as can be ascertained this began with the appointment of Robert Livingston in 1675 as Town Clerk of Albany, and also as Secretary for Indian Affairs,[1] but there is no definite mention of the records before the

[1] "The governour's residing at New-York, rendered it necessary that some person should be commissionated, at Albany, to receive intelligence from the Indians, and treat with them upon emergencies. This gave rise to the office of commissioners of Indian affairs, who, in general, transact all such matters as might be done by the gouvernour. They receive no salaries, but considerable sums are deposited in their hands for occasional presents. There are regular minutes of their

year 1677.[1] If records of the years before this had been preserved, apparently they were destroyed or lost before 1727, when Colden's *History of the Five Nations* was published, for his account of the relations between the Albany commissioners and the Indians, based on these records, practically opens with that year, and Wraxall's *Abridgment*, written in 1754, does the same. From 1678, however, the records must have been fairly complete. For the first few years they were in Dutch, in part at least, but later in English. They were entered upon loose leaves, a few of which had probably been lost before 1751, which accounts for occasional gaps. In 1751 they were, however, bound together in four folio volumes.[2] When Colonel Johnson became Indian superintendent in 1755, the records were transferred to him to be

transactions from the year 1675. . . . Here all our Indian treaties are entered. The books are kept by a secretary, commissioned in England, whose appointment is an annual salary of one hundred pounds proclamation out of the quitrents. The commandant at Oswego is generally a commissioner. The office would probably have been more advantageous than it has been, if the commissioners were not traders themselves, than which nothing is more ignoble in the judgment of the Indians." Smith, *History of New York* (1814), p. 242, note.

"It is objected that there never was any office of Agent or Secretary to the Indians, and therefore no salary was allowed, but that the work was done by the Town Clerk *ex officio*. I answer that I did officiate as Secretary because I was Town Clerk, but the drawing and translating of the Indian propositions from Dutch into English was never done by any town clerk before. . . . Every Indian who comes in with intelligence has his news translated into Dutch, which is translated, transcribed and entered by me. This happens forty or fifty times a year."

Robert Livingston to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. September, 1696. *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1696–97*, no. 236.

[1] *N. Y. MSS.*, xxviii, p. 27, a mention of "an Extract out of the Records at Albany signed by Rob[t] Livingston Secr."

[2] William Smith, the historian of New York, says this was done by James Alexander, "who borrowed them for his perusal" (*History of New York*, ed. of 1814, p. 242, note), and this statement is accepted by Dr. Shea, the editor of Colden's *History of the Five Nations* (New York, 1866, p. 124). The statement of Sir William Johnson can hardly be reconciled with it, however. In 1768 he wrote to Sir Henry Moore: "I must observe that their [the Indian commissioners'] Minutes were in Gen[l]. kept on Loose Sheets of paper, not Entered fairly in Books, that many of those Entrys were so illegible & the orthography etc. so bad that some of them are at present unintelligible, & altho I collected all that I could & had them bound into volumes I have never been able to find the whole, so that there are Chasms of above a Year in some places." *Johnson MSS.*, xvi, p. 130. Governor Clinton's statement (*post*, p. xciii) would seem to support Smith's statement.

preserved and continued.[1] On the death of Sir William in 1774, the records passed to his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's successor as Indian superintendent, who carried them to Canada during the War of Independence. There in 1782 he transferred them to his successor, Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William, who still had them, apparently, in 1788.[2]

These records remained in the custody of the Indian agency. The last two of these four folio volumes are now preserved among the Dominion archives at Ottawa. The first of the remaining volumes contains the minutes of the Albany commissioners from January 7, 1722–23 to September 4, 1732. The second begins with May 28, 1732 and ends July 27, 1748, with a portion at the end covering the period from June 24, 1737 to July 2 of the same year.

These are unquestionably the original registers kept by the Albany Indian commissioners, and are still bound in the same sheep-skin bindings mentioned in the eighteenth century notices of them, retaining even the thick paper wrappers which contained the several parts before they were bound up. The first two volumes, covering the period from 1677 to 1723, cannot at the present time be traced, but as they certainly survived far into the

[1] He had had them before, in 1749, when Governor Clinton had put him in charge of Indian relations, as appears from an order of the governor to the Albany commissioners for their delivery. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxvi, p. 83.

[2] These facts appear in a transcript of proceedings in the English Court of Exchequer of June 7, 1788, formerly preserved among the *Johnson MSS.*, xxvi, p. 123.

Sir John Johnson's counsel in support of his motion for the allowance of Sir John's accounts of the expenditure of public money recited the loss of Sir William Johnson's papers and accounts during the war and then gave the following account of the Indian Records: " That shortly after the decease of the s^{d}. S^{r}. W^{m}. Johnson Gen^{l} Gage the then Comm^{r} in Chief directed Col^{l}: Guy Johnson to take the Managem^{t} of Indian Affairs and to Act as Superintendant thereof instead of the s^{d}. Sir Will^{m}. Johnson And that the s^{d}. Coll^{l}: Guy Johnson took upon himself the s^{d}: Office of the Superintend^{t}: accordingly and in Consequence th'f the s^{d}: Col^{l}: Guy Johnson with the permission of the s^{d}: Sir John Johnson took from the Office of Indian Affairs at Johnson Hall afs^{d}: the Book called the Book of Indian Records Containing Copies of Letters Treaties and Minutes of other Transactions with the Indians which Books of Indian Records were delivered to the s^{d}: Sir John Johnson in Canada in the Year 1782 by the s^{d}: Col^{l}: Guy Johnson on the s^{d}. Sir John Johnson being Appointed Superintend^{t}: Gen^{l}: & Inspector Gen^{l}: of Indian Aff^{rs}.— in North America but such Books do not Contain any Acct^{t}. of the Rec^{ts}: or paym^{ts}: of Money."

nineteenth century, it is possible that they merely became separated from the other two during the many transfers of official papers prior to the final lodgment of such documents at Ottawa, and there is a probability that they may some day be found.

Before they were lost, however, some clerk or custodian made a manuscript index of their contents, part of which is preserved at Ottawa. It is entitled "Schedule of Propositions of the Indians and answers from Government," and consists of parallel columns containing (1) the date, (2) the name of the tribe, (3) the subject of the propositions, (4) the page of the original records, and (5) the answer of the Government. Frequently, also, the names of the government officials or other contracting parties are added. The index is apparently the work of a not very careful nineteenth century copyist, and in the beginning amounts to little more than a mere catalogue of conferences.

The first entry lists a transaction of December 20, 1677 with the Oneidas relative to the delivery of a young Mahikander Indian. The second, of March 20, 1677–78, also with the Oneidas, relates to a fire at Schenectady and the "running of the North Indians." The third, dated March 21, 1677–78, briefly notes a renewal of the covenant at a conference with the Senecas. This is Wraxall's first entry and he gives a much fuller and more complete account. A comparison of Wraxall's *Abridgment* with the *Index* for the remaining years of the seventeenth century seems to indicate that Wraxall, though purposely leaving out purely local or unimportant matters, has omitted practically nothing of significance which the *Index* includes, while his accounts of the transactions he chooses to give are much more detailed than those in the *Index*.

For the year 1678 the *Index* has seven items, of which Wraxall gives all the important ones. For 1679 there are twenty-two separate items noted, many of them, however, including nothing but the date and the parties. Here Wraxall omits nothing important given in the *Index*. From this point there is a break in the records until 1684, after which they become fairly continuous. For 1684 the *Index* gives thirty-eight entries, but

twenty-five of these have, instead of the subject of the conference, merely the note "Indian. no translation." Of these twenty-five items in the "Indian" language, one, the important conference of the Indians with Governor Dongan and Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, is given by Wraxall at considerable length with the note appended — "Translated from this Vol. of the Records from the Low Dutch Language by Peter Wraxall"![1]

For the interval from 1684 to 1691, on which Wraxall is silent, many items are noted in the *Index*, and the original records themselves covered some 400 pages; but the help given by the *Index* is almost *nil*. There seems to have been one public conference on August 5, 1685 recorded in English. Most of the other transactions when given are unimportant, and for all except a few the *Index* merely notes "Indian. no translation."

Beginning with the year 1692 most of the entries in the original records were in English instead of Dutch, and the indexer's note, "Indian. no translation" becomes rarer. It occurs occasionally, however, in 1695, 1696, and as late as 1699. Up to and including the year 1699 the entries in the *Index* are very brief, though they are gradually becoming longer. For the same period Wraxall's notes are fewer but much more complete. It is impossible to say whether he has included everything of importance or not. The period from September, 1695 to July 20, 1698 which he omits entirely, contains several transactions, apparently all of secondary importance. The *Index* indicates that the original records themselves were silent from May, 1696 to January, 1699 (old style), except for two conferences in 1698 which Wraxall gives at much greater length than the *Index*. Thus far both Wraxall and the *Index* are very incomplete, the latter giving the dates of many conferences but often nothing more, while Wraxall gives satisfactory accounts of several important meetings, but passes over considerable periods without comment. With the year 1701 the *Index* becomes much fuller for some of the more important conferences, often giving considerable parts of the speeches *verbatim* from the original records, as a comparison with the

[1] *Post*, p. 11.

Abridgment shows, and in many cases much more fully than Wraxall.

The original records, Wraxall tells us,[1] contained nothing from July 21, 1701 to December 13, 1704. This is borne out by the *Index*, save for one entry for January 18, 1702. From the end of 1704 to the close of volume one of the original records the *Index* has detailed accounts of important conferences given at greater length than those in the *Abridgment*, from which a fair estimate of Wraxall's accuracy, impartiality, and judgment as an abridger may be made. A comparison of the two seems to give no evidence of his suppressing or distorting anything, and in general his summary appears to give a just and approximately correct idea of the Indian transactions of the period. Volume one of the original registers extended to December, 1706, and contained about 815 pages.

For the years 1701–1711 the *Index* is still available and of especial value, giving very full accounts of the principal conferences which often amount to transcripts of the original records, and seem to agree on all important points with Wraxall's briefer summary. But with 1711 the existing *Index* ends, and for the remainder of the contents of volume two of the registers, down to 1723, Wraxall's account is at present our only available source of information.

From 1723 to 1748 we have the original minutes of the Albany commissioners. These two volumes are of very great value, not merely on matters directly relating to New York and her Indians, but also in regard to the neighboring New England colonies, the Indian attacks upon them from Canada, the attitude of the New York commissioners and Government toward these questions, and the frequent irritation aroused in New England, by this attitude. The small use to which these sources have hitherto been put by historians is out of all proportion to their importance. The existence of these volumes makes it possible to test in the most thorough manner the value of this part of Wraxall's work. It is obviously out of the question, however, to attempt to set forth in detail the results of such an examination. A summary

[1] *Post*, p. 42.

and general estimate of results is all that is possible here. It may, therefore, be said in general that the few minor misstatements that might be pointed out in the *Abridgment*, and the occasional omission of matters that one might reasonably expect to find should not weigh against the general accuracy, fairness, and judgment with which the *Abridgment* was evidently prepared. This, of course, applies only to Wraxall's text. His notes are often extremely biassed, but they can easily be distinguished from the text, and are not the less interesting or instructive on account of their evident partiality. Comparison with the originals shows that the *Abridgment* gives in general a very just and comprehensive idea of the trend of Indian affairs for half a century and more, as well as setting forth many of their important details, and that it does in the main faithfully carry out Wraxall's avowed aim, to "exhibit a View of the Transactions of this Colony with the Indians depending thereon, as explicitly as the Nature of an Abridgment & the state of the Records would permit." [1]

The minutes subsequent to 1751, when the records were bound, have not survived as a collection. The *Johnson MSS.* contained transcripts from them, and many extracts were sent to England and are still available. There was also formerly preserved at Albany among the New York MSS., an important volume of *Records of the Indian Agency* covering the period from April 14, 1757, to February 20, 1759, containing important minutes of Indian conferences, letters, orders, instructions, etc., partly in Wraxall's hand. Many of these minutes of the conferences have been reprinted in the *New York Colonial Documents*, but not all — particularly some conferences in April and June, 1757 — and few or none of the letters and other documents. The partial loss of the Indian Registers is rendered somewhat less serious by the fact that transcripts of the records of conferences taken from them were sent to England from time to time, and have thus been preserved. The reports of Indian transactions outside the formal conferences, but often of great importance, were sent with far less regularity, and it is the absence of these

[1] *Post*, p. 4.

in any other form that makes Wraxall's abridgment of the lost registers more important.

These minutes of Indian affairs were always considered of great importance in New York. There can be no doubt that governors Bellomont, Hunter, Burnet, Clinton and others based their Indian policy upon the information they contained. Among these men, Governor Burnet took the deepest interest, and initiated the most important changes in the relation of the province with the Indians.[1] The source of his information is clearly indicated by Cadwallader Colden: "Mr. Burnet, who took more Pains to be informed of the Interest of the People he was set over, and of making them useful to their Mother Country, than Plantation Governors usually do, took the Trouble of perusing all the Registers of the Indian Affairs on this occasion. He from thence conceived of what Consequence the Fur Trade with the Western Indians was of to Great-Britain; that as the English had the Fur Trade to Hudson's Bay given up to them, by the Treaty of Utrecht, so, by the Advantages which the Province of New-York has in its Situation, they might be able to draw the whole Fur Trade in the other Parts of America to themselves, and thereby the English engross that Trade, and the Manufactories depending on it."[2]

[1] "Of all our governours none had such extensive and just views of our Indian affairs, and the dangerous neighbourhood of the French, as governour Burnet, in which Mr. Livingston was his principal assistant." Smith, *History of New York* (1814), p. 241.

[2] Preface to Part II of the *History of the Five Nations* (1902), i, pp. 103–104. On August 30, 1751, Governor Clinton wrote to the Lords of Trade — "when we went up to Albany to meet them, [the Indians] I sent an express for the Registers, and on perusing a part thereof the Extracts now transmitted to Your Lord^{pps}, were found, which are some proofs of the infractions of the French on the Treaty of Utrecht, & of their incroachments on the Territories belonging to the Crown of Great Brittain; and I doubt not I shall be able soon to transmit to your Lord^{pps} many more proofs to the same purpose, and to prove the whole remarks, after a thorough perusal of the Indian Registers, which till last month were only in loose Quiers of paper, but now they are strongly bound up into four thick Volumes in Folio, and they are now perusing with care, to get what intelligence possible for your Lord^{pps} that may be, concerning the Indian Affairs, pursuant to your Lord^{pps} orders." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 731.

In 1768 Governor Sir Henry Moore wrote to Sir William Johnson: "While I was at your House I ask'd for the Indian Records, but was told that they were

The importance of these registers of Indian affairs was by no means confined to the Province of New York. Even a hurried examination of Wraxall's *Abridgment* would show how large a number of conferences are chronicled there in which representatives from the other English colonies took part, and how many transactions were recorded affecting the imperial policy of the English government, particularly in its relations with the Indians of the interior, English and French, and with New France itself. This was due to the unique power and importance of the Iroquois and to the policy of the New York government in refusing to allow other provinces to deal with them, except through the medium of the Indian commissioners at Albany.[1] In the important inter-colonial conference held there in 1754, the importance of the Indian records is apparent. Before the commissioners could proceed to their principal business, extracts from the records were read, and the Secretary for Indian Affairs was instructed " to attend them with the Records of that Office," [2] and during the

lock'd up, which I thought a little extraordinary as there were no other motives for this last excursion of mine but to transact Business with the Indians: What I desir'd to see was the Result of a Meeting which was held upon this very dispute [the title to certain lands on the Mohawk] some years ago, and beg the favor of you to let me have an Attested Copy of that Transaction. The meeting was held at Albany at the time Mr. Livingston was Secretary for Indian Affairs, whose Son (Alderman Livingston of this City) then acted as his Deputy." *Johnson MSS.*, xvi, p. 109.

[1] In 1721 the Council of New York wrote to the government of Massachusetts: " It is the opinion of this Board that this Government cannot consent that Commissioners from any Neighbouring Colony Should meet or Treat with the five Indian Nations, who are a branch of this Province or give presents to them in the name of any particular government." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xiii, pp. 175 *et seq.*

In the next year the New York Council reported to the governor as follows on a request that the Five Nations should treat in New England with the Massachusetts government " . . . that it has been the constant practice for the Governours of the Neighbouring Colonys or commissioners from them to Treat with the five Nations at some place within this Government which place has usually been the Citty of Albany." They declare, therefore, " We are of opinion that your Excellency may Consent to a Treaty to be held by the said Government and the five Nations in presence of such Commissioners as your Excellency Shall please to appoint on the part of this Province, and that said Treaty be held at Albany upon Such proposals as shall be made by the Said Governour and approved of by your Excellency." *N.Y. MSS.*, lxv, p. 35.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 854.

proceedings important differences of opinion were settled by reference to the registers.[1] Sir William Johnson, when he became sole Indian superintendent for all the northern colonies, based his Indian policy on a study of these records,[2] and in the dealings with the Indians themselves he and his predecessors lost no opportunity of impressing upon them the fact that these dealings were entered in the registers as a lasting record of their engagements, a consideration of no little weight with the Indians.[3]

Wraxall's *Abridgment of the Indian Records* covers practically all the materials bound up in the four folios above referred to, beginning at 1678 and ending in 1751. It was written in 1754, and sent over at once to Lord Halifax. It is possible that Wraxall's father, John Wraxall, was referring to the *Abridgment* when he wrote to Sir William Johnson in 1760 that " The Manuscript you mention " was then in Bristol in the hands of his daughter. If so, Lord Halifax had probably sent it to John Wraxall after his son's death. Soon afterward John Wraxall sent this manuscript to Wraxall's widow in New York, and in June,

[1] *E. g.*, on the question whether the River Indians were dependent on New York or Massachusetts Bay, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 865.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii, p. 714.

[3] In 1737 Lieutenant Governor Clarke, in a conference with the Indians at Albany, reminded them of their former engagements and said that the English had " Committed it to writing which time cannot wear out." To which the Indians replied: " You tell us you Committ Your Affairs to Writing which we do not and so when you look to your Books you know what passed in fformer times but we keep our Treaties in our heads." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 100, 101.

In 1755 Colonel Johnson addressed an Indian Conference at Mt. Johnson: " Behold Brethren these great Books (Four Folio Volumes of the Records of Indian Affairs which lay upon the Table before the Colonel) They are Records of the many solemn Treaties and the various transactions which have passed between your Forefathers and your Brethren the English, also between many of you here present and us your Bretheren now living — You well know and these Books testifie that it is now almost 100 years since your Forefathers and ours became known to each other," etc. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 969–970. The secretary of a conference of Sir William with Pontiac and other Indians in 1766 records the fact that at the end of the conference " Sir William gave them a general admonition that he hoped all what had passed during the Congress might have a deep impression upon them all, and desired they would repeat it often amongst themselves, and hand it down to their posterity with great care, and under the strictest injunctions as on his part what was transacted could not be forgotten being regularly entered into the Records of Indian affairs." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii, p. 866.

1762, she forwarded it to Johnson Hall. Johnson kept it until 1766, and probably returned it to Mrs. Wraxall in that year.[1] If this "manuscript" was really the *Abridgment*, it got back again to England somehow, and remained there until about the year 1852; for the *Abridgment* was bought in London about that time by Mr. Charles Welford, and brought back to New York. At the sale of Mr. Welford's books in 1854, the *Abridgment* was bought for the New York State Library for $50, and placed among the archives,[2] where it was burned, together with other valuable manuscripts, in the fire which destroyed a part of the State Capitol at Albany in 1911. This edition is based on a copy made from the manuscript in 1904.

The registers of Indian records are the basis of two books still in existence, Colden's *History of the Five Nations* and Wraxall's *Abridgment*. Both are *livres de circonstance*, Colden's history being first published in 1727 to influence opinion in favor of the continuance of Governor Burnet's measures to stop the trade with Canada in Indian goods;[3] while Wraxall's was written in 1754, to prove to the English government, by concrete examples, the importance of Indian relations, the incompetence of the then Indian commissioners, and the fitness of Colonel Johnson to supplant them. Some comparison of the *Abridgment* with its more famous predecessor is inevitable. Colden's book was intended for a wider circle, and has a more literary form. It contains much fuller accounts of Indian speeches than the *Abridgment*, but it covers only about twenty years from 1678 to 1698, while the *Abridgment* extends to 1751. Colden prefaces

[1] Letters from John Wraxall to Sir William Johnson, and others between Sir William and Peter Wraxall's widow. *Johnson MSS.*, v, pp. 2, 239; vi, p. 20; xii, pp. 154, 179.

[2] *Norton's Literary Gazette*, iii, pp. 38, 185; N.S., i, p. 133. *Memorandum Book of Trustees of the New York State Library*, iii, pp. 90, 487.

[3] Colden wrote in his preface to the second part of the *History:* "As this Act did in its Consequence take a large Profit from one or two considerable Merchants, who had the Trade to Canada entirely in their Hands, they endeavoured to raise a Clamour against it in the Province, and presented likewise Petitions to the King, in Order to get the Act repealed. Upon this Occasion Mr. Burnet gave me the Perusal of the Publick Register of Indian Affairs, and it was thought the Publication of the History of the Five Nations might be of Use at that Time." Ed. of 1902, i, p. 105.

his transcripts from the registers with a general description of Indian life and oratory, drawn from rather obvious and not always trustworthy sources, such as Lafitau and La Hontan. He also gives some accounts of military operations. This was very useful, but the only real contribution he makes to our knowledge of Indian affairs is what he takes from the registers. While Wraxall's more concise method requires him to pass more rapidly than Colden over the twenty years they treat in common, a comparison of the two shows that he has included most of the important matters. The special object which both writers had in view possibly led them to omit things we should like to know, but we must be thankful for what they have preserved. When we consider the length of the period covered, the historical value of Wraxall's work seems not less, but rather greater, than that of its more pretentious fellow, which has passed through some six editions.

It is important not merely as an historical document. While Colden's book was unsuccessful in accomplishing its purpose of checking the tide of opposition to Burnet's Indian policy, Wraxall's principal object, the appointment of Colonel Johnson as Indian superintendent, was gained, and it can be shown that the *Abridgment* was a really important factor in gaining it.

Thomas Pownall took to himself, as was not altogether unusual with him, a considerable part of the credit for Johnson's appointment, asserting that it was due to a paper of his, offered to the Albany Congress in 1754, and afterward forwarded to England. "This paper," he says in the appendix to his *Administration of the Colonies*, "was drawn up in the year 1754, not only to suggest the necessity of the office, but to recommend Colonel, since Sir William Johnson, to be the officer. Its succeeded accordingly." [1] It is not unlikely that his recommendations had considerable weight, through the influence of John Pownall, his brother, but his claim is much exaggerated. I am inclined to believe that this *Abridgment* of Wraxall's had more influence in shaping the policy of the English government toward the North American Indians, in leading them to withdraw Indian relations from the provincial

[1] *Administration of the Colonies*, 4th ed. (1768), app., p. 35, note.

governments and concentrate them in the hands of one crown official, and in inducing them to make Colonel Johnson that official; than either Pownall's paper or even the united suggestions of the provincial representatives assembled in Albany in 1754. Wraxall's preface to the *Abridgment* is dated May 10, 1754, and it was probably sent to Lord Halifax at once.[1] The Albany Congress first met on June 19th.[2] Franklin's plan of colonial union was not adopted by the congress until July 10th, and Pownall's "Considerations" toward a Plan for Indian Management were not read until the next day.[3] The minutes of the Albany Congress, together with Pownall's "Considerations" and another paper on Indian affairs by Johnson himself did not start to England until July 22d.[4] In the meantime, on June 14th, Secretary Robinson had asked the Lords of Trade to draw up a plan of "General Concert" for the colonies, as he had asked the colonies themselves earlier;[5] and on August 9th, the Lords complied with this request and sent to the King a plan and a statement explanatory of it.[6] This plan provides for one "proper person" to be Commander in Chief "and also Commissary General for Indian Affairs." The explanatory statement suggests that "the sole direction of Indian Affairs be placed in the hands of some one single person, Commander in Chief, to be appointed by your Majesty." These recommendations were drawn up at Whitehall just eighteen days after Pownall's letter left New York, and three months from the time when Wraxall's manuscript was finished. They became the basis of the Government's subsequent policy in Indian affairs. It is true that Pownall's paper reached England before Braddock sailed for America with his instructions, and it must have strengthened the impression already existing in Johnson's favor which resulted in his appointment when Brad-

[1] *Post*, p. 7, 5.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 853.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 889–892.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 908. Pownall's paper was not sent to England before it was read at Albany, for the author himself says it was delivered "to the commissioners of all the Colonies, assembled at Albany in 1754, *and transmitted to government with their minutes.*" Administration of the Colonies, 4th ed., app., p. 33, note.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 844.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 901–906. Pownall's "Considerations" are printed in the same volume, at p. 893, and Johnson's paper at p. 897.

dock landed. The facts remain, however, that when the Lords of Trade drew up these recommendations, Wraxall's *Abridgment* was, it is almost certain, in the hands of Lord Halifax, the President of the Board, a man of great influence, and Wraxall's personal friend; that Wraxall hints at Johnson's appointment in the broadest possible way several times in the *Abridgment*,[1] while Pownall's paper never mentions him; and that neither Pownall's paper, nor Johnson's paper, nor the recommendations of the intercolonial congress at Albany had yet reached England.

This disproves a large part of Pownall's claim, but it is not very strong evidence of any positive influence exercised by the *Abridgment*. That is found, however, on a comparison of Wraxall's different suggestions in the *Abridgment* with the "Representations" on the proceedings at Albany which the Lords of Trade drew up and sent to the King on October 29th.[2] In it the Lords decisively reject the Congress's scheme for control of Indian affairs by a board of colonial representatives and return to their own earlier plan of one crown officer. In giving their reasons, they recite a number of things mentioned by Wraxall, such as the Indians' distrust of traders, the importance of smiths, etc., and end by recommending the appointment of Colonel Johnson. "The reasons of our taking the liberty to recommend this Gentleman to Your Majesty are the representations which have been made to us of the great service he did during the late war, in preserving the friendship of the Indians and engaging them to take up the hatchet against the French; the connexions he has formed by living amongst them, and habituating himself to their manners and customs; the publick testimony they have given at the last meeting of their friendship for, and confidence in, him; and above all the request they make that the sole management of their affairs may be intrusted to him." All the facts here alleged in regard to Johnson can be gathered from Wraxall, and a careful comparison of this whole document with Wraxall's statements, as well as with those of other papers such as Pownall's, make me confident that these "representations" upon which the Board's suggestions are so

[1] *E.g.*, *post*, pp. 246, 248. [2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 916–920.

largely based, together with the English government's whole subsequent Indian policy, were largely those of Peter Wraxall. As a result of the Board's suggestions, General Braddock, on reaching Virginia, proposed Johnson's appointment, and it was ratified by the colonial governors at Alexandria on April 14, 1755.[1] The next day Johnson wrote to Wraxall to ask if he would serve as his secretary.[2] It was not without reason that Johnson closed his letter of acknowledgment to the Lords of Trade with the statement: "My Lords, Justice and Truth, call on me to acknowledge, the faithfullness, diligence and capacity of the Secretary for Indian Affairs in the execution of his Office."[3] Johnson's debt to Wraxall was very great, and to his credit it can be said that he never forgot it.

Concerning the antecedents and early life of Peter Wraxall, the author of the *Abridgment*, very little is known. His father, John Wraxall, was a resident of Bristol, probably a member of the well-known Bristol family, to which the author of the famous "Memoirs" later belonged.[4] It was this family connection, in all probability, which opened up the prospect of a career for young Peter in the New World, and, in conjunction with the family's straitened circumstances, led him to emigrate to the depen-

[1] O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York* (Octavo Edition), ii, pp. 649–651.

[2] *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson MSS.*, p. 31.

[3] Dated Albany, July 21, 1755. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 961.

[4] *Johnson MSS.*, v, p. 2, a letter from John Wraxall to Sir William Johnson dated Bristol 15 September, 1760 acknowledging the receipt of Sir William's letter of condolence on the death of his son, Peter Wraxall, dated May 15th. *Calendar of Johnson MSS.*, p. 105.

"In August, 1750, the Common Council [of Bristol] appointed John Wraxall to the office of swordbearer, a comfortably endowed post, often bestowed on fallen greatness. Mr. Wraxall, who had been an extensive linen draper and a master of the Merchants' Society, long occupied a house and shop on Bristol Bridge. In December, 1778, Nathaniel Wraxall, a member of the same family, and father of the once famous Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, Bart., but who had been unfortunate in business as a merchant, was also appointed swordbearer." *The Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, by John Latimer, 1893, p. 284. Nathaniel Wraxall, merchant, father of the Nathaniel here mentioned, and grandfather of Sir Nathaniel, was Sheriff of Bristol in 1723. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731, p. 125, cited by Thomas Seccombe in life of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also *Proceedings of the Albany Institute*, i, pp. 28–29.

dencies, where the connection certainly continued to be useful to him.[1] It is likely that he spent some time in Holland before leaving Europe, as may be inferred from his familiarity with the Dutch language and from an allusion in the *Abridgment*.[2] He seems also to have visited Jamaica.[3] The first evidence of his being in New York is found in the muster rolls of the colony for the year 1746, which include the names of men of Long Island, "realy and truly inlisted in Peter Wraxall's Company of Foot for the present expedition to Canada,"[4] an expedition which never went beyond the colony. It was hardly possible to live in New York at this time without being drawn into the violent quarrels which divided the colony into factions, and set Governor Clinton and his assembly against each other. Wraxall seems to have joined the governor's party, for in 1747, on his being called to England by urgent private business, the governor entrusted to him a letter to Under Secretary Stone, begging him to "permit the bearer Capt. Wraxal to acquaint you with what he knows" in relation to the quarrel. "He raised a Company in this Province on the Expedition intended last year against Canada. As he behaved well on all occasions, and is well acquainted with many transactions as well Civill as Military in this Province I am in hope he may be usefull on some occasions where it is not possible to obviate every objection that may be made, especially as he is acquainted with the men of this Province, as well as

[1] "Mr. Wraxall who is my Aid de Camp & Secretary & also Judge Advocate, all without pay or Perquisites takes Consequence to himself from the manner in w^ch^ you are pleased to mention him & often thinks the improbability of his seeing you in America a real loss to him, he desires you will accept of his Salutations & best Wishes. he is well known to M^r^. Fox & Lord Halifax & if it falls in your way I wish you would mention him in an advantageous Manner to these Gentm^n^, in my Name & as having great Merit with me." Extract of a letter from Sir William Johnson to Colonel Orme, dated 18 Sept. 1755. *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 226. See also *post*, p. cxvii, note.

[2] *Post*, p. 108.

[3] "Capt. Wraxall my only Aid de Camp & Sec^ry^ begs you will present his Comp^ts^ to Admiral Boscawen to whom he was personally well known in Jamaica." Letter of Sir William Johnson to Governor Charles Lawrence, dated 24 October, 1755. *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 134.

[4] *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxv, p. 69, printed in *Report of the State Historian*, Colonial Series, i, pp. 626–628.

many particular things in it. As I do not doubt of his sincere intentions to serve me, I should be greatly obliged if he could be served in what he wants, which is, a Company in the Army, and if His Grace would be pleased to give a little assistance I shall take it as a great honour." [1] The letter is significant in several ways. There is no evidence that this appeal in Wraxall's behalf had any immediate result, and for several years he is lost to sight. The efforts of his powerful friends must have continued in the interval, however, for in 1750 he received a commission under the royal sign manual as Secretary or Agent for the Government of New York to the Indians and also as Town Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Common Pleas in the County and City of Albany,[2] and from this time his history is involved in the devious and disgraceful muddle of New York factional politics which in the next few years so greatly lessened the prestige of the colony in the eyes of its Indian allies and so lowered its efficiency for the struggle with New France; and his part in these quarrels was no unimportant one.

The two offices of Indian Secretary and Town Clerk of Albany were, as we have seen, closely connected, and both had been held by Philip Livingston under a commission from the Crown for over twenty years before his death, in August, 1750. Wraxall received the royal appointment to both these offices on November 15th. After an unexplained delay of many months, he set out from England, where he had remained, apparently, since his mission of 1747; but on his arrival in New York, and application to Governor Clinton to be admitted to his new post, "the Governor acquainted him that the same was in possession of another person under a Commission from him and referred him to the Decision of the Law." The fact is, that the Governor on September 25th had issued a patent under the seal of the colony appointing Harme Gansevoort Town Clerk of Albany during good behavior, and now alleged that his own commission and the Albany charter of 1686 empowered him to do so.[3] The

[1] Dated, New York, 24 July, 1747. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 377.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 768; *N. Y. MS. Record of Commissions*, v, p. 4; *post*, pp. 5–6.

[3] These facts are taken from a Report of the Lords of Trade on the point dated

governor's conduct was probably not actuated by any hostility to Wraxall, but merely the result of negligence or ignorance of the law. His sale of the office to Gansevoort for £300 against the Statute of Edward VI,[1] which Wraxall says was proved in open court and virtually admitted by Gansevoort's counsel,[2] is rather damaging, but was probably not by any means unprecedented in the Province of New York.[3] It is true that the Lords of Trade recognized that the governor's appointment of Gansevoort was in excess of his authority, and "inconsistent with his duty to the Crown,"[4] but neither they nor the governor had the power, though they might have the wish, to offer any other means than "the Decision of the Law" for the removal of one who held an office during good behavior. Wraxall's only recourse, then, was the action to revoke Gansevoort's commission, but no one who was acquainted with Albany juries and the temper of provincial

November 7, 1752, in which the whole matter is reviewed. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 768–769. The clause in Governor Clinton's commission upon which he probably relied was as follows: "And we do hereby authorize and empower you to constitute and appoint Judges, and (in cases requisite) Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, Justices of the peace and other necessary Officers and Ministers in our said Province for the better Administration of Justice and putting the laws in execution." . . . *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 192. Governor Dongan's charter of 1686 to Albany provided "that According to usage & Custome the Recorder & Towne Clerke of the said Citty shall be Persons of Good Capacity & Understanding such as his Most Sacred Majesty his Heires and Successors shall in the said Respective Offices of Recorder & Towne Clerk respectively Appoint & Commissionate and for Defect of such Appointment & Commissionateing by his most Sacred Majesty as aforesaid his Heires and Successors to bee such Person as the said Governor Leivt. or Commandr in Cheife of the said Province for the time being shall Appoint or Commissionate which Persons so Commissionated to the said Office of Recorder and Office of Towne Clerke Respectively shall have hold and enjoy the said Offices Respectively According to the Tenure and effect of the said respective Commissions and not otherwise. . . . also that the Towne Clerke of the sd Citty for the time being shall Allwayes bee Clerke of the Peace and Clerke of the Courts of Sessions or County Courts for the said County." *N. Y. Col. Laws*, i, pp. 204–205, 215.

[1] *Stat. 5 and 6 Edward VI*, cap. XVI. Against Buying and Selling of Offices. Among other things it rendered null and void any sale "which shall concern or touch any Clerkship to be occupied in any Manner of Court of Record, wherein Justice is to be ministered."

[2] *Post*, p. 6.

[3] The historian Smith speaks of Governor Burnet's selling no offices as exceptional among New York governors. *History of New York* (1814), p. 271.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 769.

judges could be very hopeful of the outcome. " such a Scene of Law & Appeals are laid open to me as may probably last these Twenty years, if I will carry it on," Wraxall dolefully prophesied.[1] The prophecy was almost realized. Gansevoort was still in possession on Wraxall's death in 1759, and Witham Marsh, the next holder of a royal commission for the office was only able to secure his rights under it after a protracted suit which finally ended in a compromise in 1764, fourteen years from the date of Wraxall's appointment.[2] I have been unable to find out what

[1] *Post*, p. 6.

[2] The letters of Marsh in regard to the slow progress of his suit throw a strong light on certain conditions in Albany. They also exhibit a type of colonial official too common in the English colonies at this time. For this reason a few extracts of his letters are here given. Marsh was secretary of the conference at Lancaster in 1744, which resulted in the Indian treaty, and the notes of the conference, which are very interesting, were made by him. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, 1st Series, vii.

On March 28, 1762, he wrote to Johnson: " If ever I engage in another law suit, it shall be for no less than ten thousand a year, one half of which, I 'll bargain beforehand to give my Attorney for recovery of the other half. . . . My cause was to 've been tried next Term; but I don't know how it happens, my Attorney Says, *we are some how in the wrong!* For my part I think I 'm in the right *upon both Commissions: but I was not born in this Province.*" *Johnson MSS.*, v, p. 222. In a letter of October 2, 1762, he refers to the Albany people as " Frogs," as in another he calls them " Van Frogs," and thanks Johnson for his favor, " w^{ch} to my Sorrow, I am afraid I never shall be able to return, unless the D–l will take away Ganse [Gansevoort] or his precious Lawyers." *Ibid.*, vi, p. 107. On November 1 he begs Johnson to do him the favor of writing " with your approbation of staying to terminate my cursed Suit." *Ibid.*, p. 143. In February, 1763 he writes that Gansevoort's counsel offers to turn over the records to him if he will make Gansevoort his deputy and give him half the profits of the office — " Yes, and if I was fool enough, I suppose He wou'd take t'other half too — the D—l doubt his Dutch Modesty, as well as his Albany Honesty — They are both pretty much alike." *Ibid.*, p. 238. On October 24, 1763, he wrote, " Yesterday I was informed new proposals would be made me with w^{ch} I cannot comply, as Mr. Smith, perhaps may insist on Ganse's being continued *as my Deputy.* — I know not how to act as I fear I may not live to see the action finished, and *no Small Sum will be offer'd* I 'm sure, with full possession of the Records." *Ibid.*, vii, p. 205. " And God preserve Us from an Albany Jury! " Dec. 11, 1763. *Ibid.*, viii, p. 42.

On January 23, 1764, he reported the suit as not yet ended, and exclaimed: " If the Court shou'd determine against me (w^{ch} they cannot by law) by Heavens I 'll write such a Letter to I.—— H——, as shall drive 'em from the Bench; I mean *two of them,* who have no great affection for English-men." *Ibid.*, p. 120.

19th February, 1764, — the suit not ended yet. Judge S——h [Smith] refuses to give his opinion till next term. " The Independents rule all . . . I shall whilst

became of Wraxall's suit. Probably he was compelled to withdraw, as he feared, on account of the expense.[1] At any rate he was unsuccessful.

But Wraxall was now drawn into a wider field than the Albany clerkship through his duties as Indian secretary. A new struggle with the French was impending, and the Five Nations were

I breath, do every thing to prevent any Machinations of some Rascals, who would cutt off a Kings Head, as soon as looking upon Him." *Ibid.*, p. 160.

May 28, 1764. " This Day, or to morrow, finishes the affair ab[t] the Records — Ganse looks like a Devil." *Ibid.*, ix, p. 94. September 28, 1764 — " Age creeps on, and bodily disorders, as well as those of the mind multiply, particularly as a man cannot live to his own Liking. — With age, and a distemper'd Constitution, Laziness intervenes to render a man incapable of Business — Sir W[m] has always befriended me — A Deputy is provided for the Clerkship of Albany City, and County — Cannot one be found for Indian Affairs agreeable to Sir William's Approbation ? Or can little Simon be able to enter up the records with an allowance of 20£ for the first year, and 30£ for every year afterwards, to be pd by me, with Sir William's Consent ? Or can he sell ? If these matters are settled I shall be happy, because I can then live according to my own Plan, and perhaps restore a broken & disordered Constitution at Bermudas or Bath. There would be no objection to part with both Offices, according to any Scheme (avec assez d'Argent) Sir William might Settle, and have — the nomination of my Successor — Yet no cursed Dutch republican, by reason He would ruin every Englishman, or at least bring the Titles of their Lands in question." *Ibid.*, ix, p. 205. On October 14, 1764, Marsh reports that the Mayor of Albany refuses to hand over the Common Council records, and the fees of the office are very disappointing — " They are too small for a Deputy's Deputy." *Ibid.*, ix, p. 220.

On November 12th he reported that the mayor had promised to hand over the records to his deputy, but had failed to do so. " What has been done since, I know not, nor care not." His lack of further interest was due to the report that a large fortune had been left to the sister of his late friend, Attorney General Bordley of Maryland — " There will be £20,000 if I can get Her." *Ibid.*, x, p. 1. On November 26th, he writes that any arrangement Sir William may make regarding a deputy will be acceptable to him — all he wants is a competency, so it could not be said a Fulcher starved — " Fulcher was Lord of People when Hengist came to England." *Ibid.*, ix, p. 16. Marsh died on Jan. 12, 1765 (*ibid.*, x, p. 78) owing over £60 counsel fees " relative to the Suit between him and M[r]. Gansevoort which was compromised some time before his decease." *Ibid.*, xi, p. 25.

There is a letter written in 1756 by William Corry to Sir William Johnson, which further illustrates the conditions existing or believed to exist in Albany. Corry cites a case tried there between one Vanderpool, a Dutchman, and a certain Emerson, evidently a New Englander. The jury was packed, he says, and the verdict was given for the Dutchman. No verdicts are ever given there in favor of strangers. The Bostonians declare that no case should ever be tried in Albany unless one-half the jury are " foreigners." *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 52.

[1] *Post*, p. 6.

wavering. Never had Indian relations been so delicate or so important. Among other things this led to the well-known intercolonial congress at Albany, in 1754, for which Wraxall acted as secretary.[1] More important for Wraxall was the fact that it introduced him to Colonel William Johnson. The two were doubtless drawn together by the gravity of the Indian situation, by their common interest in it, and their common dislike and distrust of the Albany Indian commissioners. The Abridgment here printed is one long argument, with illustrations, addressed to the Earl of Halifax, urging the withdrawal of authority from men so incompetent and untrustworthy, and its lodgment in the hands of one man, and that man Colonel Johnson. Johnson, as we have seen, was appointed early in 1755, and at once chose Wraxall to be his secretary, and with this opens the last and most important phase of Wraxall's life. From this time he is in the thick of colonial politics, and an important figure in them. Johnson was not only made Indian superintendent, but was also created a major general and entrusted with the important expedition against the French at Crown Point, on which Wraxall accompanied him. The details of this expedition and of Johnson's victory over Baron Dieskau at Lake George need not be repeated, but Wraxall's part in the controversies that preceded and followed that victory is too important to be altogether passed over.

In the New York governorship, Clinton had been superseded by Sir Danvers Osborne, who committed suicide after one day of it, and James Delancey, the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice, succeeded as head of the government. Hitherto he had been an opponent of Johnson, who owed his advancement to Clinton, his enemy. All this was changed when Delancey became acting governor, and also under the administration of Sir Charles Hardy, who in a short time succeeded him. But Johnson had made a new enemy, no less a one than Governor Shirley, who had now become commander in chief of the forces in North

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 859. Bill of Peter Wraxall against the Colony of New York, dated October 31, 1754, amounting to £10 14s. for writing copies of the proceedings of the Congress. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxxiv, p. 5.

America on Braddock's death. Though deeper causes lay behind, the immediate cause of their quarrel was the alleged activity of one Lydius, whom Johnson charged with being Shirley's agent in undermining his influence with his Indian allies, and thus attempting to weaken his expedition against Crown Point; and Shirley's conviction that Johnson was in like manner plotting against the success of his own campaign farther west.

This quarrel can be followed in its broad outlines in the official communications which were sent to England, many of which are printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History* and elsewhere. But some additional light is thrown on the controversy by letters which never found their way to England, but were formerly preserved among the Johnson Manuscripts at Albany. The destruction of many of these by fire is my excuse for including here at some length extracts from these letters which were originally made for reference rather than for publication. The letters also serve to show how important Wraxall's actions and partisanship for Johnson were in the quarrels which ultimately led to Shirley's recall.

From June 21 to July 4, 1755, William Johnson held a great conference at Mount Johnson with the Indians, of whom 1106 were present. At one of the meetings at which Colonel Lydius was present, one of the Oneida sachems rose and said: "You promised us that you would keep this fire place clean from all filth and that no snake should come into this Council Room. That man sitting there (pointing to Coll: Lyddius) is a Devil and has stole our Lands, he takes Indians slyly by the Blanket one at a time, and when they are drunk, puts some money in their Bosoms, and perswades them to sign deeds for our lands upon the Susquehana which we will not ratify nor suffer to be settled by any means." [1]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 984. Lydius certainly bore no very good reputation in the Colony of New York. There are many unfavorable references to him in the minutes of the New York Council and in the papers printed among the *New York Colonial Documents*. As early as 1746 the Commissioners for Indian Affairs complained to the Governor of alleged actions of Lydius, whom Clinton was inclined to favor, in trying to get the Indians to go over to the French. *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxv, p. 34. Compare the statements in the Abridgment, *post*, pp. 246. 248. The whole

The next day Johnson answered this complaint in the following words: "I did promise, that I would keep this fire place free from all filth and did desire, that no snake should come into this Council room. As to Coll: Lyddius, if his coming hither was such an offence to you, I am sorry for it, he came of his own accord without any invitation from me. If Coll: Lyddius hath done as you represent and which I am afraid is in a great measure true, I think, he is very faulty, and that nobody should attempt to settle Lands upon such unfair purchases. I will endeavour all in my power that justice may be done you in this affair.[1] In this speech of Johnson's, Wraxall, in writing the official notes of the conference, inserted the following explanatory note:

"Col. Lydius came to Mount Johnson with an Interpreter employ'd by Gov^r Shirley, & several Indians complain'd to Col. Johnson, that Lydius had been privately persuading them to go to Niagara w^th him and Gov^r. Shirley, and they express'd their Displeasure at this Application of Lydius's; upon w^ch Col. Johnson spoke to Mr. Lydius, who shew'd him Gov^r. Shirley's Orders for what he had done: Col: Johnson forbid him & the Interpreter to interfere any further with the Indians, as it had, & would occasion an Uneasiness amongst 'em, w^ch might be prejudicial to the Interest in general." [2]

When this record reached Shirley, his state of mind may be imagined. On July 15th, he saw Johnson in person and demanded that the offending explanation be altered, to which

matter is very much tangled with the crooked politics of the time. Apparently, Clinton distrusted the commissioners and employed Lydius in their place, as he had formerly employed Johnson himself. Their complaints of Lydius are therefore by no means disinterested, and the endorsement of them by a council hostile to the governor should not be taken too seriously. Lydius's general reputation, however, was bad, and Johnson expressed himself in no uncertain terms about him long before the trouble with Shirley arose. A long letter of complaint of Lydius from the commissioners was formerly in *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxv, p. 40, in which they brand him as a traitor and refuse to serve longer unless Clinton will forbid Lydius to interfere with Indian affairs. There were other letters of complaint in *N. Y. MSS.*, lxxv, pp. 29, 41. On these letters the Provincial Council of New York reported on May 14, 1746 "That it is advisable for his Excellency to forbid M^r. Lidius & all other Persons (except those in Commission) to intermeddle or treat with the Indians Concerning Publick Affairs." *N. Y. Council MSS.*, xxi, p. 92.

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 986–987. [2] *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 31.

Johnson agreed; and in the official record all mention of Governor Shirley and his orders is omitted, but the statements regarding Lydius remain in other respects exactly as before.[1] But Shirley was not appeased. On July 17th, he wrote from Albany to Johnson: " I must desire you to order your Secretary for Indian Affairs to let me have a Copy of the Proceedings at the late Conference between you and the Indians at Mount Johnson, as soon as conveniently may be, and that you would favour me with attested Copies of the Letters I sent you by Col. Lydius, sometime in June last, and of another which I wrote to you by Lt. Colonel Ellison in the Same Month.

" I am favour'd with your Letter of the 15th Instant, wherein you acquaint me that upon the Conversation w^ch^ had pass'd between us that forenoon, your Secretary for Indian Affairs had expung'd my Name out of the Note then talk'd of: and send me a Copy of that Note as it now stands recorded. I can 't avoid repeating, Sir, that I look upon the Secretary's foisting in that Note, as a very gross Affront upon me; and notwithstanding the Excuses, you offer'd to me for him, I can 't but be of Opinion that his inserting false Facts in the Records, by way of explanatory Notes, in order to ground personal Reflections upon them w^ch^ is evidently the Case here, is an Abuse of his Trust.

" The Note is introduc'd in the following manner: The Indians tell you pa. 27 ' that you had promis'd them you would keep the Place clean from all Filth, and that no *Snake* should come into the Council Room, that the man, pointing to Col. Lydius was a Devil and had sold their Lands &c.

" In page 29 you acknowledge you made 'em that Promise, and that you did desire that no *Snake* should come into the Council Room, that if Col. Lydius had done as *they represented*, and w^ch^ you ' was afraid was in a great Measure true ' & C^a^.

" On pretence of explaining this Complaint of the Indians your Secretary subjoins the Inclos'd Note: You can 't but observe, Sir, how foreign & impertinent the Subject matter of this Note is to what it pretends to explain; that it hath not the least connec-

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 80. The note is given in the amended form in the record of the conference sent to England, and printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 986–987.

tion with it; that the only Intent of it is to raise a Reflection upon me; and every word in it is pointed for that purpose.

"As to the Orders which it is asserted Colonel Lydius shew'd you from me, directing him to do what he is charg'd with in the Note, you must be sensible from the whole Tenour of my Letter to him, in w^ch^ it is pretended, those Orders are contain'd, that there is no Colour for the Assertion; on the Contrary, my Letters to yourself shew that he was order'd by me to act under your Directions in the Affair:

"You assure me, Sir, this Note was inserted without your Direction or privity, I verily believe it was; But I can 't avoid saying, if you had been so good as to have order'd it to be struck out, when you first discover'd it; it would have been more consistent with the Regard, w^ch^ I flatter'd myself, you had for me, and I think is due to me on every Acc^t^

"This Note hath put me upon a more strict Inquiry into Colonel Lydius's Behaviour in this Affair, than I had before made; the Acc^t^ he gives me of it is inclos'd [1] & he offers to verify it upon Oath: If he is not mistaken in it, I can 't think him so blameable, as you seem to do; especially considering, I had given him an Officer's Commission, for the Indians, w^ch^ should join in the Expedition ag^st^ Niagara." [2]

From this correspondence it is evident that Shirley suspected that Johnson was privy to, if not responsible for Wraxall's offensive note. There can be no doubt that it at least expressed Johnson's own sentiments. On July 31, he wrote to Thomas Pownall, who was no friend of Shirley's: "He [Shirley] wrote me

[1] It was entitled "Memorandum of what passed at Mount Johnson between the Indians of the Six Nations and myself," a statement signed by John H. Lydius, which made all Lydius's actions seem very innocent indeed, and him a very much abused man. It was in *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 84. In strong contrast with this is the report of Lydius's conduct when asked for his orders, purporting to be given by several of the persons present at the conference — "Then Lydius reply'd that he could produce his own Orders (which was his Commission) and was better the [sic] Gen'l Johnsons & a Seal to it better than the Kings, which by saying so it was took to be meant Gov^r^ Shirleys, as he said Gen'l Johnson's Commission was only a Provincial one & by his Commission he was the Third Man in America and if he Had the Presents to divide which Gen'l Johnson divided he would have more Ind^s^ than Gen'l Johnson has." *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 85.

[2] *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 100.

a verry long angry Letter reproaching menacing me & grossly abusing M^r^ Wraxall. . . . I make no doubt he will endeavour to wreak his Malice upon me & poor Wraxall, who has wrote to Mr. Fox to get quit of his Military Commission so I hope he will be clear of the thunder in that Quarter." [1] It is clear that this antagonism went much deeper than the Lydius affair.

Soon after this Johnson and Wraxall left for Lake George, where Wraxall was employed as secretary, aid de camp and judge advocate, and proved himself of great value. It is evident from Johnson's letters, written after the battle at Lake George, that he expects Shirley to take vengeance on Wraxall, and is trying to prevent it as well as to secure Wraxall's advancement. In all his letters he enlarges on Wraxall's services, and the fact that he receives no compensation.[2] Johnson now conceived the idea of sending to the different governors an account of the progress of his campaign, with a request for their suggestions. As bearer of these papers, first to the governor of New York at Albany, and then to the governor of Massachusetts, he chose Wraxall, possibly with the idea of getting him out of harm's way for the time, and for other reasons of a different character. On October 3d, Wraxall set out from the camp at Lake George for Albany, and Johnson sent a letter by him for Shirley to inform him of these matters, saying among other things: " Mr. Wraxall, My only Aid de Camp & Secre^ty^. & who has also acted as Judge Advocate to this Army carries this Letter to Albany to forward from thence to Y^r^ Excellency. I Thought it necessary to send

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 140. See also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 994.

[2] *E. g.*, in a letter to Col. Orme of 18 September, *Johnson MSS.*, ii, p. 226; one to Governor Hutchinson dated 11 October, *ibid.*, iii, p. 78; one to Governor Fitch, *ibid.*, iii, p. 85; one to Governor Hopkins dated November 1, *ibid.*, iii, p. 163; and others. His general letter to the several governments which raised troops for the campaign may be taken as a fair sample of all these. It is dated December 2, 1755. He mentions three persons as deserving especial credit for the success of the campaign, naming Wraxall first and in the following words: " Cap^t^. Peter Wraxall during my Command has without even the Prospect of any Pay, without taking any Fee or Perquisite whatsoever, acted as my only Aid de Camp & Secretary and also as Judge Advocate to the Troops under my Command. I think he has distinguished himself in these Departments, with that Fidelity Capacity and unremitted Application as deserves the Esteem of the public, full well. Am convinced it deserves my Grateful Acknowledgment." *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 265.

some Person to lay before S^r^ Char^s^. Hardy the present Scituation & state of Affairs relating to my Command & to proceed forward to do the same to the Gov^rs^ & Commanders in Chief of the several Gov^ts^ who have troops on this Expedition and I did not know a more capable or proper Person I could send than Mr. Wraxall, tho' I very unwillingly part with him as his Assistance has been and would be very useful to me, but my reasons for dis-patching him are more prevalent than those for keeping him still with me.

" He is to endeavour to obtain & carry on with him the Opinions of the Several Gov^rs^. relative to this Expedition & to proceed from Albany to Boston, and also to desire the several Gov^rs^. to transmit their Opinions to Y^r^. Excellency w^th^ all possible Dispatch." [1] Shirley, however, had evidently prepared for something of this kind before setting out on his campaign to Oswego. On October 3d, Wraxall wrote from Albany to Johnson: " This afternoon Stevenson gave me a letter from Shirley's Aid de Camp ordering me positively up to Oswego to my Camp. I handed it to S^r^. Charles [who] told me to write 3 lines to him, that I was engaged to you & public Service would suffer by my abandoning you & the Cause I was engaged in & he would settle it with Gov^r^. Shirley says unless Shirley shows him powers equal to Braddocks, he shant command Indep^t^. Comp^s^." [2] Hardy also advised Wraxall not to go to the other governors, as the papers he carried might only stir up trouble and defeat the Expedition. " I believe it would be the natural Consequence of their perusing these Papers," wrote Wraxall to Johnson on October 4th, " but then I told Sir Charles the Cloud must burst very soon, & that unaprized of it as they were at present they might reproach you for keeping them in the Dark, & by that means give your Enemies if you had any (as was probable) an advantage over you." [3] He therefore writes for further instructions. On the next day, however, without waiting for them, probably because he and Hardy concluded that Lake George was a safer place than Albany, he set out to rejoin Johnson, bearing a letter from Hardy setting

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 39.

forth his views against the circular letter.[1] Shirley in the meantime was fuming at Oswego. "He 's much embittered at you," wrote Banyar, deputy secretary of the province of New York, to Johnson on October 9th. "He complains that you did not send him an Account as early as anyone of the Battle. His Wings will soon be clip'd. I believe and if you don't give him a lift out of the Stirrup as far as in your Power I shall wonder at it."[2] By October 13th, Shirley had received Johnson's letter of September 30th, telling of Wraxall's mission. It was not pleasing news, and probably would never have been sent had not Shirley been too far away to do anything in time to prevent it. On receipt of it Shirley wrote to Johnson, in part as follows:

"You Inform me you have sent your Secretary to the Several Governments for their respective Opinions upon the present Situation of affairs under your Command, and propose they shall be transmitted to me, so that my directions are to be followed upon their Opinions; Your Secretary's Tour, and the Return of the Opinions of the Governments to me, will probably take up to the End of Nov^r. w^ch will be Extream late for me to send your Directions.

"The time for your desiring my Directions should have been as soon as possible after your Action with the French on the 8th Instant, at w^ch time you Inform'd by the Way of Albany, all the other Governors concern'd in the Expedition under your command, of it.

"You must have however received Sir, by this time, all the directions, I could properly give you at this Distance, and w^ch I thought it my Duty to send you unask'd; w^ch then was to proceed to Ticonderoge.

"You well know my Opinion concerning the Serviceableness of your Secretary; that is a very different one from what you Express, in your Letter of the 30th of Sept^r., of him. Some of your officers wou'd have been in my Opinion more proper to have been Dispatch'd to their respective Governments for their Opinions; w^ch might in that way have been more Expeditiously and Effectually Obtain'd than by sending him."[3] But, as we

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 40. [2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 62. [3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 87.

have seen, Wraxall was already back at Lake George by this time and the circular letter was abandoned as Johnson's letter to Governor Wentworth of October 10th explains.[1] On the same day he wrote to Governor Hardy, and also another letter to Shirley explaining the change of plan. To Governor Hardy, he said, in part, "Mr. Wraxall informed me Gen[l]. Shirley had ordered him up to Oswego, & that y[r] Excellency had taken that matter under your Management, w[ch] I am extreamly glad of & very much obliged to you for. I soon found myself distressed by his Absence; he has always been a most necessary & useful person to me & he will remain so as long as my Military Connexions last. The loss of him would not only be a private one to me, but I think an essential to the public relative to this Expedition. I wrote M[r] Shirley before he set out for Oswego that Mr. Wraxall was my Secretary & Aid de Camp. the Affairs which have passed thro him & the Papers which are in his hand & under his Management make it absolutely necessary, that he should not be taken from me to a Scituation w[ch] must rob me of that Assistance without which I cannot give such an Account of my Conduct to the Gov[ts] concerned, w[ch] they will reasonably expect & may probably demand, and I cannot but think Gov[r]. Shirleys abrupt & peremptory orders to him, an unkind Intention towards me. It is not meerly upon my private but on the public Interest that I must thank y[r]. Excellecy for y[r]. Interposition and claim the continuance of it in regard to this Gentleman, who has no pay who reaps no Perquisites for all his Labours & the Dangers to w[ch] he has exposed himself in this Service."[2] The letter to Governor Shirley explains Wraxall's return to Lake George and the abandonment of the circular letter. "Your excellency," it goes on, "will please to consider or be informed, that I have no writers but my Secre[ty]. Mr. Wraxall, & a Deputy Secre[ty] — & they have no pay or perquisites for what they do in this way, & that no Establishment was made for me of this kind, M[r] Wraxall has been & is my only acting Aid de Camp. In this Scituation I think

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, iii, p. 69. He says he is preparing a letter and some papers for Governor Phipps "w[ch] I shall desire him to communicate to the several Gov[ts] concerned in this Expedition as it is impossible for me to send them separately."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

myself excusable if I cannot be so punctual & diffusive in my Advice as might otherwise have been expected from me." [1] So far as can be ascertained, Wraxall was not afterward interfered with in his attendance on Johnson, and he continued in that capacity until Shirley was superseded. When Johnson was created Indian Superintendent under the Crown a short time later, Wraxall was promoted to a captaincy in return for his services in the campaign at Lake George,[2] and Lord Loudoun told him, as he reported in a letter to Johnson, that he, Wraxall, had been " recommended in the warmest manner to him by M^r^. Fox, Calcroft, &c. that he should be disposed to do me any Service in his Power." He also reports that Pownall " told me I must write a letter to My Lord Hallifax for he had appeared for me with regard to the Indep^t^. Commission." [3]

These extracts show more clearly than could any comment how important Wraxall's services were to Sir William Johnson, and how highly they were regarded by him. " To the panegyrical pen of Mr. Wraxall, and the — *sic volo, sic jubeo* — of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be ascribed that mighty renoun, which ecchoed thro' the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw unexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough." So wrote in 1757, the author of *A Review of the Military Opera-*

[1] *Johnson MSS.*, p. 71. The quarrel between Johnson and Shirley became hotter when Shirley returned from Oswego, and may be traced in their letters to each other and Johnson's complaints to the Lords of Trade. See *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, pp. 993, 1022–1027; vii, pp. 3, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 29, 35, 40, 76. It was only ended by the news that Shirley had been superseded by Lord Loudoun in February, 1756. In the documents here referred to, much additional light is thrown on the affair of Lydius, and the reader is referred to them in further explanation of the letters given above from the Johnson manuscripts. Wraxall's paper referred to below (p. cxvii) was written in the heat of this controversy, at Johnson's request, and forwarded to England. In an appendix to it Wraxall has included the minutes of an Indian conference held at Mount Johnson in August, 1755, in which the Indians make some very damaging statements against Shirley. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii, pp. 29–31. Before his recall Shirley was thinking of appointing Conrad Weiser in Johnson's place as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. See his letter to Sir Thomas Robinson on the subject, dated December 20, 1755. *Correspondence of William Shirley*, edited by C. H. Lincoln, ii, p. 362.

[2] *Johnson MSS.*, iv, pp. 62, 66.

[3] Letter of Wraxall to Johnson, dated New York, July 23, 1756. *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 74.

tions in North America, sometimes ascribed to William Livingston,[1] an author too violent in his partisanship for Shirley to have much weight, perhaps, but a keen if biassed observer of all that went on in New York at that time. The same author also asserts that it was Wraxall's influence which had reconciled Johnson and Delancey,[2] a very important statement if true; and one by no means improbable, for Wraxall during Clinton's last years as governor had apparently been more friendly to Delancey than to Clinton. His counsel in the Albany clerkship case was Joseph Murray, one of Clinton's bitterest enemies.[3]

After the events of 1755 and 1756, Wraxall's life was less eventful. He continued as Indian Secretary, but the duties of this office sometimes conflicted with those of his captaincy, and he probably saw no very active service in the field. He seems to have disliked military service, for which ill health unfitted him,[4] though his marriage may have had something to do with this disinclination.[5]

[1] P. 95. [2] P. 65. [3] *Post*, p. 6.

[4] MS. letters of Wraxall to Johnson at different times.

[5] Letter of Johnson to General Abercrombie dated September 16, 1757, in which he says Wraxall has orders to proceed to Albany at once, but he takes the liberty of keeping him a day or two as he is surrounded with Indians. *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 153. A letter from Johnson to Lord Loudoun dated Fort Johnson, December 10, 1757. Extract, " I should be glad your Lordship would please to let me know whether I am to look upon Mr. Wraxall as Secre^{ty} of Ind^{n} Affairs any longer, if not I beg Leave to assure Your Lordship that I shall be very much put to, and cannot get any so well qualified for that Office, he having had the Ind^{n} Records in his Keeping several Years read them thro, and is very well acquainted with their Customs Farms, E^{to}. besides he has a peculiar Turn that Way, which is a great Advantage. Indeed I know not where I could find a Man in the least fit for that Office. I hope y^{r} Lordship will please to consider of it, being sensible that his holding two Commissions (especially at this Time) would not answer, and knowing his Constitution not equal to the Fatigues of a military Life. I often advised him to quit the Army, which he seemed very willing to provided he had Y^{r} Lordships Leave to sell out. If I did not think he could do His Majesty more Service as Secretary of Ind^{n}. Affairs, than as a military Man, I would by no Means offer to say so much to your Lordship about it So hope you will excuse me." *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 168. Lord Loudoun's answer, written from New York on December 25, 1757, was in part as follows: " As to Captain Wraxall, I have in no Shape interfered, with his executing his Office as Secretary to Indian Affairs; You know he remained here all last Winter, absent from the Execution of that Office; as soon as the Campaign began he desired to return to his office of Secretary, and when the Winter began to approach, he left

For the last year or two of his life, he and Mrs. Wraxall lived in the city of New York, but he attended Sir William Johnson as usual at the most important Indian conferences.

The last record of an Indian conference in Wraxall's hand was dated April, 1759.[1] His last letter to Johnson was written from New York, on June 8th.[2] He died on July 11, 1759,[3] and was buried in Trinity Burying Ground in the city of New York.[4] Besides the Abridgment printed here, Wraxall, at Johnson's request, drew up in 1756 an important paper entitled "Some Thoughts upon the British Indian Interest in North America, more particularly as it relates to The Northern Confederacy called the Six Nations," in which he refers in several places to this Abridgment. This paper is printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, vii, p. 15.[5] At his death he left unfinished

You and returned here, With a plan of remaining for the Winter and as I found by the leave you had given him, that you did not want him at present, I thought it but reasonable, he should Assist in Compleating his Company, which wanted a great many Men; and the whole difference that could be to him was, — whether he was to live in one Town in the low country during the Winter, or in another, which We, as Soldiers, do not consider a Point of any great Consequence, and were I to go into that way of thinking, that every officer who has a Wife, must live where She Choses, we should have a strong army presently, and nerve to do Duty. — As to allowing him to Sell, it is so contrary to the King's Inclinations, that it is not fit for me to agree to it; if by his Friends in England, he can bring that about, I have no Objection to it." *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 171. In December, 1756, Wraxall married Miss Elizabeth Stilwell. Biographical Sketch of Wraxall by Mr. Daniel J. Pratt, in *Proceedings of the Albany Institute*, i, pp. 28–33. Letters from Wraxall to Johnson in *Johnson MSS.*

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii, p. 386. Apparently the last known letter of Johnson's written in Wraxall's hand was dated Fort Johnson, May 17, 1759. *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 186.

[2] *Johnson MSS.*, iv, p. 189.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii, p. 433. Several letters in volumes iv, v, and xxiv of the *Johnson MSS.* The following entry occurs in Sir William Johnson's accounts: "To Peter Wraxall Esq. Sallary as Secretary for Indian Affairs from y^e^ 1st Nov^r^. 1758 to the day he dyed w^h^ was July 11th, 1759 216.17 $1\frac{5}{7}$." *Johnson MSS.*, xxvi, p. 12.

[4] *Proceedings of the Albany Institute*, i, p. 274.

[5] "This," says Professor Alvord, "is unquestionably the ablest and best paper on the Indian question written during this period, in spite of the author's partiality to Sir William Johnson; and its influence may be traced in all later communications and in the final construction of a definite policy." *Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763*, pp. 12–13 (*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 1908).

another paper — "Some General Thoughts upon the Security, the Cultivation, and the Commerce of the Northern Colonies of America," written in answer to some queries propounded to him by Dean Tucker. Unfortunately, this manuscript cannot now be traced.[1]

[1] Letter from Mrs. Wraxall to Sir William Johnson dated New York, April 10, 1762. *Johnson MSS.*, v, p. 239. Also other letters in the same collection, vi, p. 20; xii, pp. 154, 179.

NEW YORK INDIAN RECORDS

NEW YORK INDIAN RECORDS

An Abridgment

of the Records of Indian Affairs contained in Four Folio Volumes, transacted in the Colony of New York from the year 1678 to the Year 1751.

Introduction

One of the prevailing Motives for my engaging in this Collection, was a Desire of manefesting my Zeal for the Welfare of the British Dominions in North America, which from their first Establishment have borne, still continue to bear & will continue to bear a very great Dependance upon our Behaviour to & Transactions with the Indians of this Continent.

I was further animated to this Undertaking, by my Duty & Gratitude to His present Most Gracious Majesty, who has been pleased to confer upon me the Office which placed these Records in my possession, believing that such a Compendium of the Indian Affairs, from the earliest Records to the latest, might aid His Majesty's Administration in proposing & persuing Methods for the Security & Prosperity of the North American Colonies; This I am persuaded every Judicious Patriot & Politician is or will be convinced, must contribute to the Dignity, the Strength & Riches of their Mother Country.

The Difficulties I foresaw & the Fatigues I underwent in compleating these Abstracts, gave place to my Ambitious Hopes They might receive the Approbation of That Noble Lord, whose Station in His Majesties' Administration pointed Him out as the principal Object for whose perusal these Papers should be Designed. When to this I added my Opinion of his Genius as a (p. 2) Statesman & the Patriot Disposition of his Heart, joined to my own Experience of his Humanity, his Understand-

ing & Candor, Labor ceased to be irksome & I went thro the Toil with Alacrity. For I found these Records tho Bound up in Four Folio Volumes, containing near 500 Pages each, far from being put together in a regular Succession of Time — Some part of Them were wrote in the Low Dutch Language which I luckily understanding, was my own Translator — the writing in general was very bad with many Blots & Erasements & in some places so Disguised as cost me many hours to Decypher.

The Plan I laid down in this Abridgment, was to exhibit a View of the Transactions of this Colony with the Indians depending thereon, as explicitly as the Nature of an Abridgment & the state of the Records would permit, at the same time I have endeavored to be as concise & Methodical as my Abilities & Materials would alow.

I intended these Papers for Buisness not Amusement; I have omitted nothing that I know of which in my Judgment appeared necessary to that Design. I have transcribed everything with that rigorous Exactness & as much in the very words of the Records as the Nature of an Abridgment would permit. I have therefore (p. 3) been utterly regardless of adorning my stile, aiming at nothing more, than to be a Faithful & Intelligible Abridger [Transcriber].

All the Proceedings of the French which appeared to me to be of any Importance, I have extracted, And I apprehend They may in many Instances, serve as a useful Contrast, in Others (if not too late) as a friendly Alarm, and rouse up that serious Attention & provoke to those Vigorous Precautions, which if not timely taken, will probably produce a fatal & unavailing Repentance.

I was tempted, & I have not resisted, to throw in some Reflections of my own by way of Notes. They are in general very Short hints, for some of which I have that Partiality as to hope, they may assist [lead] the Penetration of the Noble Lord to whose perusal & disposal these Papers are humbly submitted, in a Train of Thought w^{ch} may tend to promote the Prosperity & Security of these Colonies. Tho I think the Reflections in these Strictures upon the People of Albany *quite just*, yet if these

Papers were designed for the Public, I should have thought it Prudent to have suppressed my honest Indignation. Such as are much better accquainted with those People than I am, draw their Character in blacker colors, but doubtless there have been & are many Exceptions — for my own part I know few.

The Dress of these Papers require an Apology. I would have copied them fair over & wrote them in the best manner I was able, but this is so critical a Juncture with regard to the Indian Affairs upon the Continent, that I was unwilling to delay transmitting them by the first Opportunity after they were finished. I did intend (p. 4) to have added some Things by way of Appendix, but as that Design would have taken up a great deal of Time, in searching Papers & obtaining Informations &c I was unwilling to suffer the Delay. —

Tis true I could have got the Quires wrote over fair, as fast as I finished them, but that would have been an Expense, w^ch^ if these Papers should be thought worthy of Daserving, would have fallen too heavy upon me — And I hope it will not be thought a culpable Impertinence, if I here subjoin a very general state of my present Circumstances.

I am appointed by His Majestie's Signet & Royal Sign Manual, Secretary or Agent for Indian Affairs for this Government, to which is annexed by the Kings Command in the said Sign Manual the Annual Salary of £100 Ster^g^ directed to be paid me out of Moneys raised by this Province for the Support of Gov^t^ — but as the Monies raised here are all appropriated & that from year to year, to Persons by Name acting in Offices, None has been & I dont expect any ever will be to me; And I have been confirmed in this Opinion by the Leading Men of this Colony. However upon the present Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ M^r^ DeLancey^s^ entering into the Administration, I presented him a Memorial, praying that he would lay His Majesties Commands in my favour before the Assembly; but he declined it & told me that until they complied with the Kings other Instructions it would be in vain & only put them out of humour.

So that I have no other Salary than £65 Ster^g^ p Annum granted me as a Benevolence by His Majesties Warrant upon

the Receiver Gen[l] of the Quit Rents here & w[ch] is very ill paid me. Out of this Sume I give £6 Ster[g] p Annum to a Deputy for the Commiss[rs] at Albany who are (p. 5) paid by the Province but no Allowance made for a Secretary. I am likewise obliged to Attend the Gov[rs] up to Albany as often as they hold any Conferences with the Indians, at my own expense, which at a Moderate Calculation is about £12 Ster[g] p Annum. There are no kind of Perquisites belonging to this Office.

His Majesty in the aforesaid Signet & Royal Sign Manual, confered on me also the Town Clerkship of Albany but this Office the late Gov[r] Clinton, tho it was an Office in the immediate Gift of the Crown by the Charter of Albany, sold before my Arrival to another Person for £300 — this Curr[y] & gave him a Patent for the same under the Great Seal of the Province during Good Behaviour.[1]

A full state of my Case as to this Affair, I transmitted to the Right Honourable the Earl of Hallifax, and flattered myself with the Interposition of the Administration on my Behalf; but having waited near Two years without any Redress, I did some Months ago commence a Suit at Law against the Possessor of the aforesaid Office. A Special Verdict was found & all the Facts set forth in the said State of my Case.

But such a Scene of Law & Appeals are laid open to me as may probably last these Twenty years, if I will carry it on, but unless His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant (p. 6) me Money to defend His undoubted Prerogative & my Claim w[ch] in this Case are strictly united, I must give it up. If this Special Verdict goes against me as I have reason to fear from the late

[1] this Fact was lately proved *in open Court* upon Oath by M[r] Holland (One of His Majesties Council!) who paid the s[d] sume to M[r] Clinton with £28 to D[r] Ascough the Gov[rs] Secretary. When my Council pleaded the Statute of Ed. 6. in the Case. The Council † on the other side s[d] in open Court that for what we knew M[r] Clinton might have paid this money to *The King*, w[ch] passed without any notice from the Judges on the Bench, & when M[r] Murray my Council took notice of the Absurdity & Indecency of the Reflection, One of the Judges on the Bench (M[r] Chambers also one of the Council) said *if not to the King*, yet perhaps *to some of his Ministers*. And the s[d] Chambers during the whole Trial showed such a Biass on the side of my Antagonist, as greatly shocked many of the Audience. †M[r] Smith also one of the Council

Public Behaviour of one of the Judges (there are but Two) I shall have £200 costs to pay. My contest with M^r^ Clinton in this Affair has already put me to an Expense of above £600 Ster^g^

I conclude with most humbly ofering the following Queries.

1. As the Colony dos not, & most probably will not alow me the £100 Ster^g^ for my Office of Indian Secretary: Whether His Majesty will be Graciously pleased to Order it me by His Warrant out of the Quit Rents of this Province ?

2. Whether I am obliged as the Colony makes no Provision for me, to keep a Deputy at Albany or act under Commiss^rs^ paid by them ?

3. Whether I am not, as receiving no pay from the Province to be considered as His Majesties Secretary for Indian Affairs, and that the Commiss^rs^ & all other Officers in the Pay of the Province be obliged to transmit to me Copies of all their Proceedings relating to Indian Affairs, to be recorded ?

4. Whether considering the Secretary of Indian Affairs as His Majestys Officer, he should not countersign all public Acts of Gov^t^ Sale of Lands by the Indians &c relating to Indian Affairs, And be considered & treated by the Gov^r^ or Commander in Chief in all Indian Matters as the Nature of such an Office seems to require ? This is by no means the case at present & the said Secretary seems industriously to be kept in as total Ignorance of all Indian Matters & Transactions as the most Indiff^t^ Spectator in the Province.

(P. 7.) 5. Whether the said Office may not be put under a new Regulation in many other particulars, more honourable to the Crown as being Its immediate Appointment & more useful for the public Service ? And whether the Secr^ry^ for Indian Affairs should not receive some Instructions in His Majestys Name as general Rules for his Conduct ?

New York 10^th^ May 1754.

Peter Wraxall.

P.S.

In the perusal of the following Papers it will be useful to consult the Maps & Accounts of Pere Charlevoix^s^ Histoire de Nouvelle

France.[1] Chart published by Jefferies.[2] Map prefixed to D^r Coldens History of the Five Nations.[3] With Poppli's Maps[4] — tho I have met with none w^ch can be depended on as to the Inland parts of the Continent. I am informed the best Draughts w^ch can be obtained here have been Transmitted To the Right Hon^ble the Earl of Halifax. I woud otherwise have Annexed one I have by me —

(P. 1.) From Indian Records Vol. N° 1.

Extract from the Propasions made to the Commandant & Commissaries at Albany by the Sennekas who were sent in the Name & Behalf of all the Indians Westward. Done in the Court House of Albany 21 March [1777/8] say 1677/78

We are come to see & speak with you and to renew our former Covenant made with this Government.

We rehearse again that we are sent by all the Castles Westward, hoping that the Sun may never Shine over them but in Peace.

We desire that you will send these 5 Bevers to the Gov^r of Maryland, accquainting him that we will keep the Covenant made betwixt him & us Inviolable. —

Art. 11. They say. We are all One — One Heart, One Head & the Peace is made so Strong that it cannot be broken.

12. It is Resolved in our Country, that we should come here in the Gov^t Town to renew & strengthen the Gov^t Chain.

24. We do give Priviledge to all Nations under the Covenant Mehikanders[5] & others to come to our Land, therefore we desire the same Liberty to come amongst the X^ts in Peace & Quietness.—

[1] *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744. — Ed.

[2] Thomas Jefferys, the well-known London cartographer. The chart referred to must have been that accompanying his *Conduct of the French with regard to Nova Scotia*, the only work of his published as early as 1754. See *Dictionary of National Biography;* Winsor. *Narrative and Critical History*, v, pp. 480–482. — Ed.

[3] This map accompanies the enlarged London editions of Colden's book which had appeared in 1747 and 1750. — Ed.

[4] Henry Popple's detailed *Map of the British Empire in America, with the French and Spanish Settlements adjacent thereto* first appeared in 1732. It was reissued in 1733 and 1740. Winsor, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 81, 486. — Ed.

[5] Hudson River Indians who are now in a great measure dispersed & have lost their Courage & Influence.

The Treaty of Unity, Peace & Friendship was renewed & assured to Them by the Commissioners.

[An Embassy] Deputation from the Onnondagas by their Sachems at the Court House of Albany the 23 Sep^{r} 1678. On the Arrival of a New Gov^{r} General.[1]

They renew the Covenant of Peace & Friendship &c. A Present is made them from the Gov^{r} General & the Cov^{t} renewed in his Name by the Commiss^{rs} —

(P. 2.) Court House at Albany the 15 Feb^{ry} 1678/9.

A Deputation from the Onneidas by several of their Sachems to the Commandant & Commiss^{rs} at Albany —

The Subject was upon some Disturbances w^{ch} had happened thro some Evil minded Persons at Schenachtegee. They say in their Speech viz. "And whereas we are all to the Westward, quite from the Sennekas to New York under One Government &c"

The Answer made them concluded thus

"Concerning the Covenant Chain the Bretheren need not doubt but the Gov^{r} General will act his part so long as you comport your selves well."

The 17th. The Onneidas made Answer to S^{r} Edmond Andros's Message ab^{t} some Maryland Prisoners in w^{ch} they Stile him their Father & acknowledge themselves his Children.

A Deputation from the Onneidas by sundry of their Sachems to the Comm^{t} & Commiss^{rs} at Albany the 24th May 1679. —

In their Speech they say — "Whereas Corlaer (a name for the Gov^{r}) "governs the whole Land from New York to Albany & from thence to the Sennekas Land, we being his Subjects shall faithfully keep the Cov^{t} Chain."

At the Court House of Albany 21 July 1679.
Pres^{t} S^{r} Edmond Andros Gov^{r} & Others.

A Deputation of the Three Tribes of the Mohawks.

They acknowledge themselves to be under this Governm^{t} renew the Chain of Peace & Friendship — They Say they are going to Cannada to talk to the Gov^{r} — On this Head in the

[1] S^{r} Edmond Andros.

Gov^{rs} [Answer he tells them. You are free to go to Canada or where you] think proper, but you are free like all the other Indians under this Gov^{t} & the French have no Authority over you. —

(P. 3.) Albany Court House 31 July 1684

Prisint

The Right Hon^{ble} Francis Lord Howard Gov^{r} of Virginia &c. The Hon^{ble} Col Thomas Dongan Gov^{r} of New York for His Royal Highness The Duke of York. And Several other Gentleman

A Deputation of Sachems from the *Mohawks*, *Oneydas*, *Onnandagas* & *Cayouges*.

The Chief Subject of this Meeting was to bury the Ax & make a firm & lasting Peace between the Virginia & Maryland Indians & the aforesaid Nations, w^{ch} was sollemnly Effected & agreed to. —

The Above 4 Nations of Indians in a Speech they Made to Gov^{r} Dongan requested they might have the Duke of Yorks Arms to put up at each of their Castles as a mark of their Affection & Attachment.

Gov^{r} Dongan spoke as follows to the 4 Nations

That there be a good Understanding betwixt your Selves, and if there be any Difference to accquaint me & I will compose it, and that you make no Covenant & Agreement with the French or any other Nation without my knowledge & Approbation. And that they say the same to the Sennekas. And I do give you the Great Duke of Yorks Arms to put upon each of the Castles as a Sign that you are under this Government.

The Mohawks during the above meeting offered to Gov^{r} Dongan for the use & Service of the Christians a Tract of Land belonging to them, w^{ch} by Minutes Dated the first of Aug^{t} the Gov^{r} accepted & gave them for the same sundry goods therein Specified, & the Copy of a Deed is recorded, bearing Date the 1 day of Aug^{t} 1684. from the Mohawk Indians to Gov^{r} Dungan to his heirs & assigns forever, of a Tract or parcell of Land sittuated upon the Mohawk River, beginning where (p. 4) the Bounds & Limits of Schenecktady ends at a Place called by the Natives Cagguwarrioene & so runing up both sides of the River to a

Creek or Kiln called & known by the name of Ottnawadase [1] together with all the Pasture Meadows, Trees, Timber &c. — (The Preamble of the Deed says we the underwritten Maquasse Sachems in consideration &c but no Signatures or Names appear to be signed in the Record).

Albany 2d August 1684. —

A Speech of the Onnondages & Cajouga Sachems made in the Court House at Albany to Col[l] Thos Dongan Govr of New York in the Presence of Lord Effingham Howard Govr of Virginia (Traslated from this Vol of the Records from the Low Dutch Language by Peter Wraxall.)

Brother Corlaer

You are a Mighty Sachem & we but a Small People. When the English first came to New York to Virginia & Maryland, they were but a small People & we a large Nation; & we finding they were good People gave them Land & dealt Civilly by them; Now that that you are grown Numerous & we decreased, you must Protect us from the French, wch if you dont we shall loose all our Hunting & Bevers: The French want all the Bevers & are Angry that we bring any to the English.

We have put all our Land & our Persons under the Protection of the Great Duke of York Bror to your Mighty Sachem. The Susquahanna River wch we won with our Sword [by our Sweat], we have given to this Government; And we desire it may be a Branch of that Great Tree wch is Planted here, whose Top reaches to the Sun & under whose Branches We Shelter our Selves from the French or any other Enemy: Our Fire burns in your Houses & (p. 5) Your Fire in Ours & we desire it may ever so continue.

We will not consent that the Great Penn's People should settle on the Susquahanna River; Our Young Warriors [Soldiers] are like the the Wolves of the Forrest as you Great Sachem of Virginia know, besides, we have no other Land to leave our Wives & Children. —

[1] This may be Nowadaga Creek, a small stream which rises a few miles south of the Mohawk and empties into that river a few miles below Little Falls in Herkimer County. — Ed.

We have submitted our Selves to the Great Sachem Charles who liveth on the other side of the Great Lake, And we now give you in token thereof Two white Buckskins to be sent to him, that He may write & put a great Red Seal thereto, that we put under the Protection of the Great Duke of York, the Susquahanna River above the Wasaghta or Falls together with all the rest of our Lands & to no one else. Our Brothers his People are as Fathers to our Wives & Children & gave us Bread in the time of Need, And we will neither give up our Selves nor our Lands to any other Government than this. And We desire that Corlaer (the Gov^{r}) will transmit these our Resolutions to the Great Sachem Charles who lives over the Great Lake, with this [String] Belt of Wampum & this Smaller one to the Duke of York his Brother, & we present you Corlaer with a Bever Skin that you may fulfill our request.

And We let you know O Great Man of Virginia (meaning L^{d} Effingham) that Great Penn spoke to us in this House by his Agents, and begged us to sell him the Susquahanna River, but we would not listen to him, having already annexed it to this Governm^{t} & we desire that you will bear Testimony of what we have now said & do now again confirm, w^{ch} We desire you will let the Great Sachem over the Great Lake know, And also that we are a Free People & unite our Selves (p. 6) to the English, and it is therefore in our Power to dispose of our Land to whom we think proper, and We present you with a Bever.[1] —

Court House at Albany
5 Aug^{t} 1684 —

Present L^{d} Howard
Gov^{r} Dongan
& other Gent^{n}

The Sennekas answered a Speech of Col Dongans w^{ch} is not recorded, but by their Answer contained some Complaints the Gov^{r} of Canada had made against them for Robbing some French Subjects — they Answer that whilst the French Gov^{r} stiled himself their Father & called them his Children his People &

[1] This Land lays within M^{r} Pens Grant a great part of w^{ch} he hath since purchased from the 6 Nations. —

himself supplied their Enemies with Amunition to destroy them, & catching the French carrying some, they took it from them. In the Course of their Speech they thanked the Gov^r^ for the Duke of Yorks Arms w^ch^ he sent them, They apply to him for his Protection of them against the French, acknowledging him to be the Gov^r^ of their Country & themselves under his Command. —

Albany the 5 Aug^t^ 1684 in the Even^g^

My Lord Effingham having made his Speech to the Sennekas w^ch^ is not recorded, they made their Answer. They consent to bury the Ax & make a perpetual Peace with the Virginia & Maryland Indians & return their Dutiful thanks to Gov^r^ Dongan for his Mediatorship.

In the conclusion of their Speech they address themselves to Gov^r^ Dongan & say, that the other Nations from the Mohawks to the Cayugas having given up to the Government of New York the Susquahannah River & All that Country [the Land as before Specified], they do confirm the same, & in token thereof (according to the Indian Custom) they make presents thereupon — At the Court House in Albany the 5^th^ day of Aug^t^ 1687. —

(P. 7.) An Excellent Speech of Gov^r^ Dongan's to the 5 Nations who were at Warr with the French —

1. he tells them they bro^t^ this Warr on themselves by entering into a Correspondance with the French without his knowledge or Consent w^ch^ as Subjects of His Britannick Majesty they ought not to have done.

2. he advises them to elect One or Two of their wisest Sachems & one or two Chief Warriors of each Nation to be a Council to manage all the Affairs of the War, for by taking all their Measures & Designs in public meetings they are liable to be betrayed. Also to advertise him of their Scheemes by a trusty Messinger.

3. To Strengthen themselves by an Alliance Offensive & Defensive with the Ottowaws & Twich Twicks[1] & the farther Indians, lay the Path open for them to come & trade with us, when they will have every thing cheaper than from the French.

[1] The Twightwees or Miamis of Ohio. — Ed.

4. To Open a safe Path for the Northern Indians & Mehikanders who are at Ottowawa to come home & the Gov^{r} would use his best Endeav^{rs} to assist

5. To send Messengers in the Name of all the 5 Nations to invite the Christian Indians at Canada to come home to their Native Country.

6. Not to keep their Corn in their Castles but bury it some where in the Woods & that few People may know where it is.

7. Not to suffer any French Priest among them, for One that was at Onnondaga discovered to the French every thing that passed among them.

8. That the Cheifs keep their People Sober —

(N.B. I find no Answer recorded to this Excellent Speech)

(P. 8.) From this last Speech of Gov^{r} Dongans to the 2^{d} of June 1691. I cannot find any Gov^{ors} Speech or meeting with the Indians Recorded. the intermediate Space of Time in the Records is filled up with Transactions between the Magistrates of Albany & the Indians; in some parts They are entituled the Convention of Albany.

The Indians carried on a War against the French & sent several Deputations to Albany to invite us into the same, They were answered that a Revolution had happened in England & that the Prince of Orange was upon the Throne who was a Professed Enemy to the French King & therefore we expected a New Gov^{r} to arrive with a Declaration of war against the French. —

The 3 Feb^{ry} 1689. There is a full Acc^{t} of a Grand Meeting of the 5 Nations at Onnondaga, to w^{ch} it is said the Convention of Albany sent Arnout the Interpreter & one Saunders together with Two Indians to lay before the Assembly the Proposals of the Convention. At this Meeting were also Two Cayuoga Indians who were carried Prisoners to France & a Praying Onnondagu Indian in the French Interest.

These Last spoke to the Assembly in behalf of the French & invited & exhorted the 5 Nations to meet the Gov^{r} of Canada next Spring at Cadaraqui [1] & to enter into an Alliance with him —

[1] Now Kingston, Ont. — Ed.

Next Spoke the Indians in the Name of the Convention of Albany whose Instructions consisted of 6 Articles That the Coalition of the 5 Nations with this Government as Subject to the Great King of England, so Solemnly, so long & so often acknowledged by them, [will not] doth not give them the Power to enter into any Treaties with the French against our Consent, & that such a proceeding would be Traiterous & Disloyal. — That They are (p. 9) Subjects of the King of England, that the French being His Enemies, & the Declaration of War against the French so long expected being now arrived, Should the 5 Nations now agree to a Cessation of Arms or make a Treaty of Peace with the French, the King of England will consider it as throwing off their Allegiance to him, & dissolving the Bond of Union w^{ch} hath so long subsisted & been so often renewed in the most solemn Manner between this Gov^{t} & the 5 Nations — &c. &c.

The Sennekas Spoke next, They gave the Assembly an Account, that they had entered into a Treaty of Peace & Alliance with the Wagenhaer [1] Nation of Indians in behalf of themselves the Other 4 Nations & this Gov^{t} & that the Three Wagenhaers were now present to ratify the same. This was accordingly accepted on all sides. The Wagenhaers promised to use their best endeavours to bring the Jenendadees [2] & Ottowawaes into the Alliance. —

An Onnondaga Sachem then rose up & said — Bretheren — We must govern our Selves by the Propositions from the Convention of Albany, & look on the French with Enmity, They are our Enemies & Deceitful. —

The Speeker for the whole Assembly then Addressed himself to Arnout our Interpreter & desired him to lay before the Assembly the Instructions he bro^{t} from Al^{by} This he did — They then all consulted together, & the said Speaker in behalf of the whole said. They were all determined to preserve their Coalition with us & to make War upon the French of Canada — and said, We are very Glad to hear our King (meaning the King of Eng^{d}) hath declared War against the French & that a new Gov^{r} is soon expected.

[1] One of the Uttuwawa Nations.

[2] The Dionondadies or Tobacco Nation, allies of the Hurons, living south of Georgian Bay. See Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, Introduction. — Ed.

The Speaker then Addressed himself in behalf of the whole Assembly to the Deputies from the Gov^{r} of (p. 10) Canada & told them, The Five Nations were detirmined not to meet him at Cadaraquie, That they would make no Peace with him, but took up the Ax against him — they accquainted him that had made a Peace with the Wagenhaes — The Assembly then broke up.

Albany 2^{d} day of June 1691. —

Extracts from the

Answer of the Oneydas, Onnondagas, Cayouga & Sennekas by their Sachems to His Excell^{y} Col. Henry Slaughters Speech (w^{ch} I do not find Recorded). —

You accquainted us that you were sent by their Majestys of England to Govern this Province. We are glad that you are safe arrived & that we have a Gov^{r} again.

We have been informed by our Forefathers, that in former times a Ship arrived here in this Country, w^{ch} was matter of Great Admiration to us, especially our desire was to know what should be within her Belly. In that Ship were Christians & amongst the rest One Jaques with whom we made a Covenant of Friendship, which Covenant hath since been tyed together with a Chain, & always been kept inviolable both by the Bretheren & us, in which Covenant it was agreed, that whosoever should hurt or prejudice the One, should be guilty of injuring the Other, all of us being comprehended in One Common League.

(in testimony here of they gave a Bever Skin)

You have made a Covenant with us wherein they of Boston & Virginia are included.

Your Excell^{y} is the Great Gov^{r} of this Country, you command the Christians & us too.

(P. 11.) Albany the 4th of June 1691. — The Mohawk Indians accquainted Gov^{r} [Fletcher] Slaughter, that some of their Nation had been to Cannada & spoke with the Gov^{r} there who was very desirous that the 5 Nations should make a lasting Peace with his Praying Indians, & had sent by them (the Mohawks) a Belt of Wampum to Corlaer the Gov^{r} of the Mohawks & the rest of the 5 Nations to consent to & make Peace with his Praying Indians.

And they desire Now to know of the Gov^{r} what they Shall do upon this Occasion —

His Excell^{y} answered to all the 5 Nations. That he admired the Mohawks would admit of any Treaty with the Praying Indians of Canada, they being as much Enemies to the Bretheren as the French. Therefore he could not admit of any proposals from them, & must check the Bretheren for hearkening to any thing from them.

The Mohawks in the afternoon of the same day made a Speech to the Gov^{r} in w^{ch} they renewed the Covenant, & said tho an Angry Dog (meaning the French) should come & endeavor to bite the Chain of Unity between us in peices with his Teeth, yet they would keep it firm both in Peace & War. —

After this an Oneyda Sachem rose up in the behalf of the 4 Nations & told the Mohawks, that as to the Belt of Wampum w^{ch} the French Gov^{r} had sent, they rejected it as venemous & detestable & would prosecute the War as long as they lived.

Between the above date & the 5 Aug^{t} following I find the Mayor & Magistrates of Albany accquainted the Indians with the Death of Gov^{r} [Fletcher] Slaughter & that Major Ingolsby succeeded him as Commander in Chief.

(P. 12.) Albany 6 of June 1692 —

Major Richard [Ingolsbary] Ingoldesby Comm^{r} in Chief met the 5 Nations & made them an Animating Speech upon carrying on the War against the French, & not to expect or think of any Cessation or Peace whilst the respective Monarchs were at War in Europe. he advised them to [keep] keep constant Scouting Parties out, & to send Parties continually into the Enemies Country to harrass & alarm them.

He tells them the Dionondadees had sent the 5 Nation^{s} 2 Pris^{rs} of theirs w^{ch} they had amongst them — That they had told the French they would keep Neuter in the Present War, & exhorts the 5 Nations to make Peace with that Nation, w^{ch} he said would be of great Service to this Gov^{t}. —

The 5 Nations in Answer to this Speech declare their determination to carry on the War with Vigour & to follow the Gov^{rs}

Advice in sending out Parties — They say — We are all Subjects of the Great King & are all One Heart, One Blood & One Interest. They renew the old Covenant & Plant the Tree of Welfare w^ch^ they desire may grow & thrive. —

They complain of the want of Guns & Amunition & say tis no wonder the French gain upon us, for they Supply their Indians with Guns & Amunition & that plentifully —

They assure the Gov^r^ that as soon as they have an Opportunity to make an honourable Peace with the Dionondadees they will do it —

{ In this & most of their Other Speeches they desire a Smith to repair their Guns may be fixt at Onondaga as a most necessary Article. }

The complain heavily that the Other Colonies did not assist in this War but left this Gov^t^ to bear the Brunt of it. They say, Let Corlaer accquaint (p. 13) the Great King & Queen that if he has a mind to conquer his Enemy he has only to command all his Subjects that were formerly linked into the Covenant chain with us.

Albany the 25 [Oct] Feb^ry^ 1692/3.

An Account being sent to New York that the French had cut off the 3 Castles of the Mohawks Gov^r^ Fletcher set out from New York by Water attended by a Military Force & arrived with uncommon Speed at Albany upon w^ch^ the Indians gave him the Name of Cajenquiragoo, w^ch^ is Swift Arrow.

He spoke to the 5 Nations there Assembled but his Speech is not recorded — their answer is dated as above, & contains their grateful Accknowledgments for the Gov^rs^ Dispatch & assistance & their resolutions of Revenge upon the French. And that while they Attack the French by Land they expect and desire that we should Attack them with Great Guns by way of the Sea.

Gov^r^ Fletcher met the 5 Nations at Albany the 3^d^ July 1693 and made them a Speech — in w^ch^

he tells them he should have met them sooner as he promised & intended, but that he had receved a Royal Mandate from their Majestys of Great Britain requiring him to repair to Pen-

silvania & take that Province into their Majestys imediate Care & Government. — that going thither delayed him

he tells them that he is informed some of the Bretheren are inclined to make a Peace with the Common Enemy, that if so it must arise from the Instigation of the Jesuit Millet who some of their Bretheren have suffered to live amongst them.

he says, I am now come to condole your Dead & to assure you of the favour of their Sacred Majesties the Great King & Queen of England &c &c And in their Royal (p. 14) Names as their Servt & Lieutenant here, to renew and Confirm the Antient Covenant Chain not only in behalf of this Province but Those of New England, Virginia, Maryland & Pensilvania.

hereupon sundry valuable
presents were given —

The following day the 5 Nations answered His Excellys aforesaid speech — They say, [They] "We are glad that our Bror Cayenquiragoe (swift arrow) renews & confirms the Covenant Chain not only between us & this Government but also for New Engd Virginia, Maryland & Pensilvania wch Covenant Shall forever be kept inviolable by all of us of the 5 Nations as long as the Sun shall shine."

As to the Jesuit Millet living in Oneyde, they say they knew nothing of it till they came to Albany, but that they had enquired of their Bretheren the Oneidas who told them there was an Indian sent with Letters to Canada wch surprised them very much. (and farther they say not on this Subject). They say "You are our Great Tree whose Roots extend[s itself] themselves to the utmost part of the Govt. — "

They say They will stick close to the War to the last Drop of their Blood. They are glad that the Shawanoes[1] their Enemys have made Application to his Excellcy for Protection & wish they were come to assist them against the Common Enemy. —

The 5 July The Govr sent for the Sachems of the 5 Nations & spoke to them privately. amongst other things he said. Relating to the Priest Milet at Oneyde wch the Bretheren of Oneyde Do

[1] I cant find anything about the Shawanoes recorded in the Govrs Speech. The Shawanoes were settled upon the Branches of the Susquahanna

still harbour amongst them, I must tell you again that he betrays you and all y^r^ Councils, and that you may see I desire not to diminish your number, I give you a pretty Indian Boy in lieu of the old Priest. accordingly the Boy was bro^t^ & delivered to them. —

(P. 15.) The Sachems of the 5 Nations replyed.

As for the Jesuit Milet the Oneyde Sachem said, that he would perform his Promise relating to that matter viz. that as soon as the Indian [Sachem] Messinger returned, all the Letters & papers in his Custody should be taken from him & forthwith bro^t^ to our Bro^r^ Cayenquiragoe before the Priest shall see them & that he was willing to take the Boy in Exchange for the Priest, but that the Priest should stay at Oneida till the Messenger returned from Canada, & desired the Boy might stay here till they bring the Priest w^ch^ shall be as soon as the s^d^ Messinger returned.

They said further

We accquaint you that it is proposed by all the 5 Nations to make a Peace with the Dionnondagis a Nation of Indians who are in Alliance with the French of Canada w^ch^ will Strengthen us & weaken the Enemy. The Sennakas who live nearest to them have undertaken to effect this Buisness & do take presents of wampum from the rest of the Nations to confirm this Peace & we desire your Concurrance in the Matter that you as our Eldest Bro^r^ will be pleased to send presents also & join in the Covenant Chain —

The Gov^r^ approved of the intended Peace & gave a Belt of Wampum to be given in his Name. —

Albany 2^d^ Feb^ry^ 1693/4.

A Deputation of the 5 Nations delivered to Maj^r^ Schuyler the Mayor &c. of Albany. —

We the Representatives of the 5 Nations come here to acc-quaint you that our Children the Oneidas have of their own Accord sent a Messenger to Canada, who returning bro^t^ us a Belt of Peace from the Gov^r^ of Canada, We answered him that we being Dependants of this Government would not resolve to anything without Cayenquiagoe, meaning Gov^r^ Fletcher —

(P. 16.) They then gave an Acct. of the Conferrences of the Gov^{r} of Canada with their Messenger. w^{ch} in Substance was to offer the 5 Nations Peace in the name of the King of France, reproaching them that they had submitted themselves to the Gov^{r} of New York, with whom he could not enter into any Treaty &c. he sent a second Belt of Wampum to the 5 Nations for Peace —

They further informed — That a Meeting was held at Onondagoe of 4 Nations (the Mohawks were not there) upon the Second Belt of Wampum sent by the Gov^{r} of Canada That the Sennekas, Cayuaga & Oneida Sachems, threw down each a Belt of Wampum in order to answer the Gov^{r} of Canada in Peace & left the Onondagues to detirmine, They took up the Belts, but said they would send no Message to the Gov^{r} of Canada without the Advice & Consent of their Bretheren of this Governm^{t} It was thereupon resolved to send to Albany an Account of all their Proceedings. —

In case the Gov^{r} of New York consented 3 Propositions were intended to be sent to the Gov^{r} of Canada — in the 3^{d} were these Words.

You say you will have nothing to do with our Bretheren of Cayenquiragoe's [1] Gov^{t} but we must tell you that we are inseperable, We can have no Peace with you as long as you are at war with them, We must stand and fall together.

Several Conferrences between the Majistrates of Albany & the Indians upon the above Subject are recorded, but very much blotted, ill wrote & imperfect, but I have picked out that they came to a resolution to allow the Indians to send a Message to the Gov^{r} of Canada that they could not meet him next Spring because they were under orders to meet the Gov^{r} of New York at that Time — however I find it was mistrusted the Indians were playing a double & deceatful part.

(P. 17.) Albany 6 Feb^{ry} 1693/4.

Major Peter Schuylers answer to the 5 Nations Reply. I have convened you together again to tell you I am not satisfied

[1] Gov^{r} Fletcher.

with the Dubious Answer you made yesterday, It not being agreeable to the proposal made to you by His Excell^{ys} Commands, therefore I would have you be plain & consider better of it & give me your Answer. I would not have you truckle to so perfidious a People as the French have always proved themselves to you. Do not be discouraged it seems that Heaven is propitious to us, for this Day we have the forerunners of the Shawanoes or far Indians come to Town with one of our Christians that was sent thither, who gives us an Acc^{t} that they are coming with 7 Nations of Indians with Woemen & Children in all a Thousand Souls & are upon the way hither with Arent the Interpreter as you have the news from their own Mouths, therefore be brisk & be not affraid & accquaint the 5 Nations herewith when you come home. —

The Indians replied to the first part of this Speech, that they now looked on the Path to Canada as Shut up, but desired they might be permitted to send a Message to the Praying Indians that they would not meet the Gov^{r} of Canada in the Spring & that he must not expect them — this was agreed to — As to the Shawanas there is no answer of theirs recorded to it.

Albany 4 May 1694 —

A Speech of the Sachems of the 5 Nations to His Excell^{y} Benj^{n} Fletcher Gov^{r} of New York Pensilvania &^{c}.

They confess they broke their Agreement made last Winter with Maj^{r} Schuyler &^{c} at Albany & have sent Messengers to the French, and they excuse themselves by saying the Days of Truce were expired & they were affraid if they had not sent a Message the French would have fallen on Them or on Albany —

They tell the Gov^{r} that his dissolving their Meeting or Assembly of the 5 Nations at Onondagoe & telling them (p. 18) they must not meet there, is a violation of their Antient Priviledges & w^{ch} Meeting never was obstructed by any former Governours. And that such Obstruction will be of ill consequence & occasion variance & difference between them & us.

They own they have sent Agents to Canada to negotiate a Peace, w^{ch} they doubt not will have a good Issue. And say, They

do not take it amiss when the Gov^{r} sends to the Dawangahoes [1] about Peace or that Arent the Interpreter went to the far Indians, & therefor the Gov^{r} ought not to be displeased with them for sending the Messengers to Canada about Peace. —

They tell him They will now give him a Candid Account of their Proposals for Peace sent to the Gov^{r} of Canada, w^{ch} they do in 10 Articles.

They reproach him with having broke the Peace with them, but as he had often sent for them they are now come & are willing that Peace & Amity shall be restored between them & a perpetual Friendship established. And if he consents he must come to their Country to ratify the same. — If he will not make Peace they say they are not bro^{t} so low but they can yet defend themselves. As to the Wagenhaes their Enemies they say they dont ask him to make a Peace for them. they will leave that to his Managment.

all this Transaction of Peace was carried on by & in the Hands of the Onnondagues, The Oniedas & the Sennekas, as they tell the Gov^{r} in their Speech. —

Albany 5 May — 1694 —

His Excellency said
Bretheren

I have heard & considered your Speech yesterday but cannot proceed to make Answer to it, until you satisfy me upon these Three heads; wherein the Truth & Sincerity with which this Government hath always treated you is wrongfully accused.

(N.B. the rest of the Speech is wanting tho a Blank Leaf is left for it. —

(P. 19.) Albany 5 May 1694 —

The 5 Nations reply.
Bro^{r} Cayenquerage (Swift Arrow)

They acknowledge they mistook in aledging that the Gov^{r} had interdicted their Meeting at Onondago & that upon maturer Consideration, they find he only forewarned them of the Fallacys of the French & not to hold meetings upon any Messages from Them —

[1] The same as the Wagenhaes referred to on p. 15. — Ed.

As to their Treaty of Peace with the French, they acknowledge their Fears drove them to it, &c

As to the Dowangahaws & Shawanas, we believe the Govr would never admit them into this Government except they had made Peace with us, which we earnestly desired, for if our Enemies come to stoop so low, why should they not have Peace, we pray you to let them come with Arnout & live amongst us, it will be a Strengthening to our Country. —

When the Christians first arrived in this Country we received them Kindly tho they were but a small People & entered into a Leage with them to protect them from all Enemies whatsoever, We were so desirous of their Friendship & Society, that we tied the Great Canoe wch brought them hither, not with a Peice of Bark or Rope to a Tree, but with a Chain to a Great Mountain. Before the Christians arrival the 5 Nations held their General Meeting at Onondaga where from the begining there has been a Continual Fire. This General Assembly Planted a Tree at Albany as soon as the Christians setled there, whose Roots & Branches have overspread as far as New England, Pensilvania Maryland & Virginia.

We desire that the Antient Covenant Chain may be renewed & the usual Love & Friendship between us may continue, And that when any Enemy threatens us with an Invasion, you may come up & assist us, & if any Enemy threatens you fail not to send up speedily for us & we will come down to your Assistance. — (P. 20.) They tell the Govr farther, that unless the Neighboring Colonies who are in the Covenant Chain will unanimously assist in the Prosecution of the war, which they have not hitherto done, the 5 Nations must make Peace with the French —

And they say their Agents gone to Canada have Positive Orders to refuse making any Peace unless the Govr of Canada will include this Government therein —

I do not find any Answer from Govr Fletcher to the above Speech recorded.

Albany the 15th day of Augt. 1694.

A Meeting of the 5 Nations with Govr Fletcher (Col Hamilton Govr of the Jerseys) Commissrs from Massachusets Bay & Agents from Conneticut. —

Substance of the 5 Nats Speech.

Bror Cayenquirago. (meaning Govr Fletcher.)

You appointed us to meet you here in a 100 days to give our Answer, who would be for you & who against you. this is the hundredth Day & we are come with the Representatives of the 5 Nations to give you our Unanimous Answer. This Spring you did chide & rebucke us for sending Messengers to Canada to treat of Peace, but you did receive us again into favour & embrace us & promised not to break the Covenant Chain.

Since the Time that the Governours have been here from the Great King of England We made a General firm Covenant, wch has been fastened Stronger & Stronger from time to time, and our Neighbours seeing that it was so advantageous, they came and put their hands into the same Covt Chain viz. they of New England Conneticut, New Jersey, Maryland & Virginia.

They proceed to reproach those Colonies with leaving this Govt & the 5 Nations to support the War by themselves as contrary to the design & intent of the Covenant Chain. (P. 21.) they add if all would join together & take up the Hatchet against the French we should be strong enough to destroy the Enemy & live in Peace afterwards. —

It is an Antient Custom to renew the Covenant Chain, and we that are left of the 5 Nations are now come to renew the same, to Scour it clean & bright that it may shine like Silver, and we promise that it shall be kept on our part so Strong & Inviolable that the Thunder itself shall not break it. —

We have been disobedient to your Commands in going to Canada to Treat with the French, and thought because our Bretheren of New England had treated with the Enemy the French to the Eastward, we might go & see whether any Peace or Treaty was concluded to our Prejudice.

They present a Belt of Wampum as a Testimony that They now renew the Covenant Chain with all the aforesaid Colonies,

& exhort them upon every occasion to act with unanimity against the common Enemy the French. —

Albany the 16th day of August 1694.

Persons present as yesterday —

Dekanissor a Sachem of the Onondagos rose & up & addrssg himself to the Govr said he was the principal Agent employed to go to Canada to treat of Peace & he would now give a faithful Account of what Passed there —

He recited in Distinct Articles his Proposals to the Govr of Canada most of them in Substance as hath been already mentioned — the 9th Article runs thus. "Onionda (a name they give the Govr of Canada) We will admit of no Settlement at Cadaraqui, You have had your Fire there Twice wch we have Quenched, and therefore will not consent to any rebuilding there, We clear the River that we may have a Clear Passage thro it & come freely to Onondaga." (P. 22.) Dekanissor then related what the Govr of Canada Answered to his Propositions — That he began with saying he could not make Peace with the Govr of New York, upon wch Dekanissor Said it would not then do, & this point was debated between them for three Days, when the Govr of Canada promised he would not make war upon the Govr of New York this Summer. The Govr of Canada insisted upon 2 Hostages, Dekannissor would not give them, but Two Indians agreeing to Stay that Point was settled. Then the Govr of Canada made Answer.

I accept of the Peace as you have offered. He then delivered a Belt of Wampum to Dekanissor for the Govr of New York to send Deputies to treat with who he said should have safe Conduct. This Belt Dekannissor now threw down before Govr Fletcher to take up, wch the Govr rejected & said if the Govr of Canada had anything to say to him he might send Messengers. —

Albany the 17. Augt 1694. —

Sadekawahtie Sachem of the Onondages related to the Govr the particulars of the Peace wch the 5 Nations had concluded with the Dowangeshaws & the Deonondas — [1]

[1] The same as the Waganhaes and Dionondadies. — Ed.

Albany 20 Aug^{t} 1694 —

There is a long Conference recorded (with many erasements & very imperfect) between Gov^{r} Fletcher & the 5 Nations in the presence of Gov^{r} Hamilton of the Jerseys, Commiss^{rs} from N. Eng^{d} & Conneticut.

It chiefly turn'd upon their Negotiations of Peace at Canada. the Gov^{r} left them to proceed therein, but told them to beware of the French for they would find 'em a perfidious People. The Gov^{r} told them he finds the Gov^{r} of Canada intends to rebuild Cadarqui, & demands of them what they say to that matter. they Answer, that they have (p. 23) already told the Gov^{r} of Canada that he shall not rebuild Cadarqui, and when they discourse him again they will tell him plainly they will not admit it. The Gov^{r} tells them if they suffer the French to build that Fort or any other on this side the Lake it will bring them & their Posterity into perpetual Slavery. —

Albany 28 Aug^{t} 1695.

Ten principal Sachems of the Mohawks were sent from the upper Nations with Intelligence, that the French who had deluded the 5 Nations with Negotiations for Peace, had now unmasked themselves & were come with a large Body & were rebuilding the Fort at Cadaraqui. And they desire the assistance of all the Colonies with Cannon to dislodge them.[1]

To w^{ch} no Answer from the Commissioners is recorded. But the 18 Sep^{r} 1695. Gov^{r} Fletcher met the 5 Nations at Albany & Spoke to them to the following purpose.

As to the Gov^{r} of Canada's taking possession of Cadaraqui Fort, he was much surprized at it, having forewarned them to keep Scouts upon the River to prevent any such Attempt. says further, " I must tell you since I have had the honour to serve the Great King of England my Master in this Province, all your misfortunes have been occasioned by your own Drunken, supine, Negligent & Careless humours."

That it is now too late in the year to get together & march a proper Body of men Amunition &c. in order to disposess the

[1] Here the author had a reference to a footnote, but none was inserted. — Ed.

French of Cadaraqui, but directs them to post Parties on the Carrying Places to cut off any supply the French may send of Men or Provisions to Cadaraqui by w^ch^ means they may force them to desert the Place.

the next day the 5 Nations Answered the Gov^r^ That they acknowledged he had warned them to keep out Scouts to watch the Enemies Motions towards Cadaraqui. that accordingly in the Spring they sent out 100 Men to lay upon the River Cadaraqui,[1] who met with a Party of Wagenhaws engaged them & took 'em all Prisoners & burnt them [2] in the meantime came the Gov^r^ of Canada & took possession of Cadaraqui.

(P. 24.) Between the aforesaid Meeting of Deputeys from the 5 Nations with Gov^r^ Fletcher the 18 Sep^r^ 1695 — And the following Meeting of the 5 Nations with The Earl of Belmont, I find no Indian Transactions Recorded. —

Albany 20 July 1698 —

The Earl of Belmont met the 5 Nations, who felicitated him on his & His Ladys safe Arrival tois this Gov^t^ after a tedious & Dangerous Voyage, & expressed their Concern at his Lordships Indisposition. His Lordship thanked them & asked them, if they had any Grievances or Comptlaints w^ch^ he could redress, or do anything for their Good, to let him know. They Answered they would Speak after his Lordship had spoke to Them.

My Lord said he would speak to them to morrow if his Health would permit him. —

The 21. is a Title of a Speech made by the Earl of Belmont to the 5 Nations, but nothing more of it recorded.

It is only recorded that the 5 Nations thanked his Lordship for his Speech w^ch^ they repeated & said they would answer thereupon when his Lordship was able to hear them —

At this time 3 Praying Indians from Canada were at Albany to whom the Earl of Belmont directed a Speech to be made by Col

[1] The Saint Lawrence. — Ed.

[2] These Sachems gave also an Account that the upper Nations that is the Sennekas Onondagas &c. had taken 10 Prisoners of Wagenhaws & burnt 9. how this came to pass after so Solemn a Peace recorded to be concluded with said Nation the 3^d^ Feb^ry^ 1689/90 I cannot learn from the Records.

Peter Schuyler & others. They accordingly welcomed them to their native Country [1] invited them to return & live amongst their Bretheren & promised them Houses & every other Necessary & gave them some Presents.

The Indians replied that on their return to Canada they would accquaint their Sachems with their Reception & the Invitation given them. —

Albany 22 July 1698 — [2]

(P. 25.) Albany 22^{d} July 1698. — Speeches of the 5 Nations to His Excellency Richard Earl of Bellemont Gov^{r} &^{c} —

a Mohawk Sachem said — That they had several Affairs w^{ch} concerned them all in General to lay before his Lordship, that also they must accquaint him with an Affair w^{ch} concerned the Mohawk Nation in particular — that it related to their Land about w^{ch} a certain Writing had been drawn up, which they desired might be annulled & burnt & that they might remain Masters of their own Land.

An Onondago Sachem then rose up & said — That they had been accquainted that a Peace was made between the Great King of England & the French King, by w^{ch} they had regulated themselves & sat still, but since the Peace had been made known to them, they had lost 94 People by the Indians in Alliance with the French — he repeats the rise & progress of the Covenant Chain as is usual to very new Gov^{r} & repeated in former Speeches, They renew it with His Lordship & hope he will keep the Chain bright & that the Tree of Welfare, that is Peace & Unanimity between them & all his Majes^{tys} Subjects in these parts may flourish & subsist under his Lordships Administration.

They complain Goods are so dear at Albany that the Indians go to Canada where they buy Cheaper, that they ought rather to be at such a Price as to draw the Indians from Canada hither. —

[1] The Praying Indians are Deserters from the 5 Nations particularly the Mohawks to the French.

[2] D^{r} Coldens Extracts from the Indian Records or History of the 5 Nations Ends here.

the 23 July is minuted that his Lordship made them an Answer & gave them presents, but the particulars of neither is recorded. And it is further minuted, that they sung a Song of Peace, & thanked his Lordship for what he had said to them & for the Presents. —

Albany the 27 July 1698 —

Is recorded a Conference between My Lord & the Mohawk Sachems about a Deed of Sale w^ch^ the Dutch Priest one Dellius had fraudelently obtained from some Mohawks for a large Tract of Land belonging to that Nation in General. [He] it appears by evidence upon Oath that the (p. 26) Priest drew them in to sign this deed, under Colour of preserving their Land to them, & told them it was a deed of Trust to him & some others to prevent some Designing People from getting Grants of their Land. The Affair appears from the Records to be an Infamous Cheat & most iniquitous Imposition — My Lord told them he would engage to write home & have the Grant vacated, & that he doubted not in 6 months time to have an Order from his Great Master to have it burnt & he would cause it to be done with all the Solemnity imaginable. —

A Speech of the 5 Nations to My L^d^ Bellmont follows the above Record bearing date the 25 July.

In w^ch^ they say his Excellency has forbidden them to hold any Correspondance or underhand Dealings with the French of Canada, for that such Proceedings will destroy the Covenant Chain between them & us.

They answer, be not affraid of the least Alliance on our side with French, we shall keep ourselves firm to the Covenant Chain. —

Albany 26 Day of December 1698 —

At a Meeting of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs Information was given that some French Gentlemen who passed thro that City from Canada in their way to New York in order to take Shipping for France, had said that some of the 5 Nations sent a Messenger with Belts of Wampum to the Gov^r^ of Canada to treat with him —

As this is contrary to their Faith promise & Engagem^{t} to My L^{d} Bellmont last Summer, it was proposed & agreed to send up to the Indians to know the Truth of this Matter, & that such Castles as have done this may send down Sachems to give an Account of their Negotiations.

(P. 27.) Albany 27 Dec^{r} 1698 —

Is recorded a Message from Ornechte the first Castle of the Mohawk Indians where the Praying Indians live —

It was to accquaint the Commissioners that the People of Schenectady had of late brought Rum to their Castles & bo^{t} with it their Corn whereby they were in Danger of Starving. They desire this may be forbid & that they may have leave to break the Cegs when any Rum is bro^{t} there.

They were answered that Care should be taken to prevent any Rum being brought to them, and that they should bring the Rum Traders to Albany.

Albany 3^{d} Feb^{ry} 1698/9.

An Onondaga & Oneida Sachem came to Albany & Informed the Commiss^{rs} that an Onondaga Indian had been to Canada to see his Father, and was there informed that the Prisoners belonging to the 5 Nations were detained at the request or by the Instigation of one Capt John Schuyler of Albany who had been trading in Canada; they were reproached with their being Slaves to the English, who neglected & despised them &^{c} were invited to send a Deputation of their Sachems to the Gov^{r} of Canada & that by their Application to him they would get their Prisoners returned. Upon this Indians arrival in his own Country he informed his People of what he had learnt in Canada, who resolved to send a Deputation to the Gov^{r} of Canada with Belts of Wampum in the name of the Sennekas, Onondagos, Oneida & Caiuga Nations, but not to impart their Design either to the Mohawks or any of the Christians of this Government, (w^{ch} was according to the Direction given the aforesaid Indians when in Canada) & accordingly a Deputation was preparing to be sent to Canada.

The Commiss^{rs} resolved to send imediately some of their Body to Onondaga to Stop this Embassy & Three Persons were accord-

ingly dispatched thither, & if the Embassy was set out to send after & bring them back. —

The 12 June 1699. I find Recorded Instructions, to the Commiss^{rs} of Albany from Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Nanfan who commanded (p. 28) in the Earl of Bellmonts absence, (who was gone to Boston to take possession of his Gov^{t} there) to this Effect —

That if the Indians do insist upon going to Canada to release their Prisoners & to make a seperate Treaty with the French, to tell them, that as they are Subjects of the Crown of England, this Gov^{t} will take care of that matter.

But if notwithstanding they will go to Canada to send Two Gentlemen along with them, & that the Indians make known what they will say to the French, & that the matter of the Conferrence be digested & fixt before they set out.

The Commiss^{rs} being informed by Two Gent^{n} who lately returned from Canada that the Two Indian Prisoners were set at Liberty & were coming back to their Castles, agreed that it was not Expedient that any Deputation of Indians should now go to Canada — And therefore they convened the Sachems of the 5 Nations & made a Speech to them —

In which they severely reproach them for going to Canada last Winter contrary to their Faith & Promise given to the Earl of Belmont & their Allegiance due to this Gov^{t}

The Commiss^{rs} tell them they must have some bad Intentions in being so earnest in wanting to go again to Canada, for now their Prisoners are released; They forewarn them against the Intrigues of the French who want to seduce them from their Obedience to this Gov^{t} They add — Consider you are the Subjects of the Great King of England under whose Gov^{t} you have been time out of Mind, and the Covenant Chain hath been so often renewed with this Gov^{t} that there is none living can remember the beginning of it. Cleave firm then to this Government & lay aside all thoughts of Correspondance with the French, for we shut up that Path. —

The 13 June the 5 Nations Answer.

You told us yesterday that you had shut up the Path to Canada from all the 5 Nations, We are glad of it, but let it be also shut up to the Bretheren of this Government.

(P. 29.) Albany 23 August 1699.

A Deputation from the 5 Nations accquainted the Commiss^rs at Albany that a Party of the Sennekas had been at Conostoga a Place upon the Susquahanna River belong^s say they to W^m Penn, from whence they had bro^t Two Letters w^ch they now came to lay before the Commiss^rs — and desire that the Gov^r of New York will give an Answer thereto. These Two Letters or Writings are of the same Tenor & date, setting forth That certain Indians therein named had been with W^m Markam Esq^r Lieut Gov^r of Pensilvania in behalf of the 5 Nations & requested a free Trade & Amity with that Gov^t w^ch is accordingly kindly accepted & Gov^r Markam promises they shall be protected whenever they have a mind to come Peaceably into that Gov^t —

The Commiss^rs tell them, They are surprized to see such a Treaty & Negotiation made between the 5 Nations & our Neighbours of Pensilvania without the least notice given or leave Obtained from the Gov^r of New York, who will undoubtedly take it very ill; that they will send the Two Letters to him & let them know his Answer when they receive it.[1]

Albany the 27 Aug^t 1700 —

The Earl of Bellmont met the 5 Nations & made a Speech to them but it is not recorded. By their Answer it turned upon Two principal Points. I^st to forewarn them against the Scandalous Artifices & lying reports made use of by the French to seduce them from their Allegiance to the King of Great Britain. 2^dly To warn them against encouraging or harbouring any French Jesuits or Missionaries amongst them, & that they should have Protestant Ministers sent amongst them to instruct them in the Christian Religion — To the first they Answer, they are from repeated Experience sensible of the Designs of the French & of their false & artful Instigations, But they (p. 30) are fully & firmly detirmined, to hold fast on the Covenant Chain made with the English, & that if the Great King of England will defend

[1] It appears that the Design of the Sennekas going to Conostoga was to try if they could get Goods Cheaper there than at Albany, where they had frequently complained how very dear Goods were.

them against the Dowagenhaws the Twich Twees & other Nations over whom the French have an Influence & who have murdered several of their People since the Peace, They will have no further Correspondance with the French. —

As to the Second Point. They are very Glad to hear that Protestant Missionaries will be sent amongst them, whom they are very willing to receive & to embrace the same Religion that is professed by their Bretheren the English, And they desire that a Missionary may be placed at Onondago w^{ch} is the Center of the 5 Nations —

They say the French give their Converts Victuals & Cloathing w^{ch} tempts many of the Indians to embrace their Religion. —

Albany the 28 Aug^{t}

The Earl of Bellmont had a further Conference with the 5 Nations, & told them, that no Missionary would live at Onondaga unless a Fort was built there to protect him — They readily agreed to have a Fort there, & My Lord promised to send the Egineer to look out for a proper Place & form a Plan for one. —

Albany 29 August 1700 —

The Earl of Bellmont had a Private Conference with Two of the principal Sachems of each of the 5 Nations, wherein he told them.

You must needs be sensible that the Dowagenhaws, Twich-twees, Ottowawas & Diondedees and the other Remote Indians are vastly more numerous than you 5 Nations, and that by their continual Warring upon you they will in a few years totally destroy you; I should therefore think it prudent & good Policy in you to try all possible Means to fix a Trade & Correspondance with all those Nations, by w^{ch} means you would retain them to yourselves, and with my Assistance I am in hopes in a short time they might be brought to be united with us in the Covenant Chain, and then you might at all times go a hunting into their Country without any sort (p. 31) of hazard w^{ch} I understand is much the best for Bever hunting.

I wish you would try to bring some of them to speak with me, perhaps I might prevail with them to come & live amongst you

and I should think myself obliged to reward you for such a peice of Service.

Desires they will use their Influence to get 200 of their Young Men to help with 200 English to build the Fort at Onondago, & that they shall have the same Wages as the Christian Workmen. and says he hopes to finish it in 3 Months, when they will have no reason to be affraid of the Garrison at Cadaraqui —

Warns them against the seducing Artifices of the French Jesuits, who if they should fail to make them Proselytes are bad enough to take them off with Poison. And says the only effectual way to prevent them from coming, is to make Prisoners of the first that comes & send him down to Albany & for every such Priest they shall be paid 100 peices of 8. — and that there is a Law in the Province for the taking up & securing all Popish Priests & Jesuits.

The next Morning the Sachems who were convened yesterday with a Protestant Mohawk Indian waited upon L[d] Bellmont & brought one more from each Nation with them, saying it was their Custom to transact all Buisness of Moment by the 3 Tribes or Ensigns that the 5 Nations consisted of viz. the Bear, the Wolf & the Turtle, one from each of these Ensigns in each Nation was to be present.

Then rose up one of the Sachems & told his Lordship. —

You desire us to make Peace with the remote Nations & [at the same time] to draw our Indians back from Canada, at the same time to bring the Jesuits who may come to our Country Prisoners hither. These Three heads do not well consist & agree together therefore we are of Opinion it will be more Advisable, first to conclude a firm Peace with the Dowagenhaw & remote Indians, and then see to draw back our Indians from Canada that are debauched thither before we meddle with or disturb the Jesuits, for there are to the Number of 16 Nations[1] who have already agreed to come & Live amongst us. And if they hear we (p. 32) commit any Rudeness to the French Jesuits it will put a Stop not only to the said Treaty but exasperate our People that are at Canada & obstruct their coming over to us, therefore we conclude

[1] I imagine the Word should have been Traslated Tribes

to wait the coming of the s^d^ far Indians before we put your Lordships desire about the French Jesuits in Execution.

As to that head relating to our Childrens being instructed to read & write English & Indian at New York.[1] the Sachems who are now on the hill are consulting about it, and we will when we are all convened together return your Lordship an Answer to it as also concerning those Matters you have spoke of about the the French at Onondago. —

His Lordship asked them whether the Sachems who were convened on the Hill would give him an Acc^t^ what Message was brought to them by Mons^r^ Morriceur the Jesuit & the rest of the French from Canada to Onondaga —

They Answered Yes. —

He told them that As he designed the Fort at Onondago so big as to receive 200 Men in w^ch^ there should be always 100 English, whether the 5 Nations in case of a War would send 100 Men to assist in keeping the Fort —

They said when all the Sachems were convened together they would answer that Point, but a little After a Sachem rose up & said, as to that Matter, we desire to be excused from giving any positive Answer, because it is the Young Men that must do the Service & they must be consulted about it. —

His Lordship replyd that he thought the Sachems had the sole Command of their Young Men without any controll.

They answered, We have often proposed something to you & you have told us you would write to the King our Great Master about it, w^ch^ gave us (p. 33) Satisfaction and we never importuned you any more about it, therefore pray be satisfied with what we have now answered.

After a while a Sachem came from the Hill from the Sachems of the 5 Nations, the Speeker said as follows. —

It is concluded by all the Sachems of the 5 Nations that each Nation do send 12 Men to assist at the making the Fort in the Onondago Country.

[1] I dont find any mention of this Article made in his Lordships Speech, & suppose it was omitted.

As to our Children to be sent to New York to be instructed to read & write, We answer, that we are not Masters or disposers of them that is a matter w^ch^ relates to our Wives who are the sole disposers of our Children whilst they are under Age. —

Albany 31. Aug^t^

The Earl of Bellmont had a further Conference with the Onondago Sachems about the Fort to be built in their Country. — viz.

1. he desired a Guard for the Engineer who was to go & look out for a proper Sittuation for it —

It was imediately granted —

2^d^ He desired to know if they would now name the Sachems who were to be joined with the Engineer to Agree upon a proper Sittuation for the Fort.

They answered when the Engineer arrived at Onondago Sachems would be there appointed —

3^dly^ If the would supply the Christians whilst they were building the Fort with Provisions & hereafter when it should be Garrisoned —

They answered the English should want for no Provisions niether whilst they were building the Fort nor afterwards and that at reasonable rates. —

In the afternoon he had a Conference with the whole Assembly of the 5 Nations then at Albany. —

My Lord's Speech is not recorded. I find by their Answer he recommended them to stand firm in their Resolution of (p. 34) being instructed in the Protestant Religion — to w^ch^ they answer, that they are firmly detirmined so to do.

They say, We desire that our Bro^r^ Corlaer (the Gov^r^) will write to the Great King of England, that the Limits & Bounds may be established between us & the French of Canada to prevent all Disputes & Controversies, that each may know their Bounds and when we are upon our Land & when we are upon the French Kings Land. —

They pray that there may be a good regulation of the Trade & Goods sold Cheap that the Remote Indians may see what Pennyworths there is here w^ch^ will draw them hither. —

The Indians gave my L^d^ Bellmont an Acc^t^ of what Jesuit Bruyere had said to them at Onondago, His Discourse appears to have been calculated to [alleinated] alienate them from their Submission to this Government, to admit of Priests & embrace the Roman Catholic Religion.

The Cannada Praying Indians of Cackanuaga had also sent a Belt of Wampum ([that is] with an Embassy) to the 5 Nations telling them that as their respective Kings had made Peace they desired all hostilities might cease between Them &^c^ — and desired their Belt of Wampum might be hung up in Onondaga Castle in token of a good Correspondance to be kept up between them & the 5 Nations, & further desired the Gov^r^ of New York might not know anything of this Belt of Wampum —

This being looked upon as only an Artifice to introduce the French & their Priests amongst the 5 Nat^s^ in order to debauch them from this Gov^t^ — My Lord gave them another Belt of Wampum in the room of this to hang up at Onondaga as a Testimony of their Fidelity & Obedience to the Crown of England — w^ch^ they accepted — and promised to return Answer to these Praying Indians, that they were resolved they would never carry on any Negotiation (p. 35) with them or any other Persons whatsoever without the Privity & good liking of the Great King of Englands Gov^r^ of New York.

Albany 14 July 1701. —

The Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ John Nanfan Esq^r^ met the 5 Nations & made a Speech to them w^ch^ is not recorded. —

They Answer —

They condole with him on the Death of the late Gov^r^ The Earl of Bellmont & congratulate him on his Accession to the Gov^t^ —

They say we shall all have our Eyes fixed upon you because we daily meet with great difficulties from the French of Canada. We doubt not but you will be careful to keep the Covenant Chain firm as the late Gov^r^ has done whose Soul is now in heaven. —

We do with all sincereity acknowledge the great kindness that his Majesty the Great King has for the 5 Nations, we will endeavour to behave ourselves as such that may merit his Majestys

Esteem by our faithfulness to the English Crown. We connot sufficiently express our Gratitude to so Gracious a Prince, and we shall never fail to Obey your Commands who are his Lieutenant

You desire to know what the French Agents have done in our Country. their Principal Buisness was to settle a Priest among us. but we have so often had Experience of their Wickedness & Falacy that we have positively denied him any Access. They have been the Occasion of a great Breach in our Country by seducing many of our People to Canada.

As to the satisfying you what Treaties we have made with the Dowagenhaes & the far Indians — They say they sent a Skin with Two of the principal Castles painted thereon. the names of y^e^ 7 Nations we have made peace with are

Skighquan
Estjage
Assisagh
Karhadage
Adgenauwe
Karihaet
Adirondax.

some of these I suppose are divisional Names of the Dowagenhaes nation — more properly called Castles.

(P. 36.) As to our Indians debauched to Canada by the French, We have used all Endeavours imaginable to get them back, but cannot prevail, the Jesuits have a great Influence upon them that they stop their coming to their own Country and the Gov^r^ of Canada has them now devoted wholly to his Service. —

The Gov^r^ told them he was glad to hear they had made Peace with so many nations & hoped it might be lasting, & desired to know how many Nations they were still at War with. They say there are 6 Nat^s^ who still make war upon us, besides those we do not know. They name none.

Albany 19 July 1701.

The Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ had a further Conferrence with the 5 Nats.

His Speech is not recorded. —

They say. We complain of the French of Canada [incroaching] incroaching upon our Territories & that they go & build Forts upon our Land without our Consent. We pray the Great King

of England may be accquainted with it & that he will be pleased to take care to prevent it.

We do renew the Covenant Chain & make it bright & clear & we fasten it to the Hills w^ch^ lye round this City, for They may rot & decay, but the Hills will remain immoveable.

Let the Covenant Chain reach from New York to the Sennekas Country that all the People that are under it may be secure from all Attempts of an Enemy.

We would remove the End of it to Troich Sachronde [1] or Wawyacktenok if it were in our Power, but the French would mock at it for they have taken it in Possession already against our Wills sending People thither to make Forts, but hope they will be removed speedily away. (P. 37.) If the French make any Attempts or come into our Country to delude us, we desire you to send Men of Wisdom & Understanding to Countermine them, for they are too Subtle & Cuning for us & if you can convince them that will be a means to stop their designs & so prevent their ill Intentions. —

We desire that our Secr^y^ Rob^t^ Livingston may be sent to the Great King of England to accquaint him that the French of Canada incroach upon our Territories by building a Fort at Tejughsakrondie [2] & to pray that our Great King may use all Means to prevent it. we shall be tied up; we shall not be able to live, they will come nearer to us every day with their Forts. We do give & render up all that Land where the Bever hunting is w^ch^ we won with the Sword 80-years ago & pray that He (the King) may be our Protector & Defendor there; And desire that our Secretary may write an Instrument w^ch^ we will Sign & Seal that it may be carried by him to the King.[3]

They desire Goods may be sold Cheap & say the French draws many Indians to himself by selling better Pennyworths than we do.

[1] The Straits between Lake Huron & Lake Errie.

[2] The 5 Nations Name for Lake Erie & is I suppose Fort [Cad] w^ch^ the [marked in Poppli's map] French had at the West End of Lake Erie.

[3] In the Contents of this Meeting is minuted the [Title] Deed of Surrender of this Land to the King dated the 19 July 1701. but no such Deed appears recorded.

Concerning the French Priests, it is a general Conclusion of all the 5 Nations to Expel them. We desire to be Instructed by your Ministers in the Christian Faith & rely on you for doing it. the French Priests have been the ruin of our Country & therefore we have no cause to suffer them any more —

The Gov^{r} of Canada hath sent a Party of Men who are gone behind our Country privately to build a Fort at Tejughsag-krondie — you desire to know what we have done in that Case. The People that have been at Onondago can tell you. We thought this Government would have done something in the Matter, & to have found you buisy in your Books & Maps concerning it, that the Line should be run between the Two Governments we can do nothing in the Case, you know we have not Power to resist such a Christian Enemy, therefore we (p. 38) must depend upon you Bro^{r} to take this Case in hand & accquaint the Great King with it for what will become of us at this rate. Where shall we hunt Bever if the French of Canada take Possession of our Bever Country.

We cannot omit to accquaint you of the Deceit of the Smiths who take our Money & instead of putting Steel into our Hatchets put Iron, so that as soon as we come into our Country to use them they fall to pieces. —

The Traders have a bad Custom to trust our People and when the Men are Dead come upon their Widows & when they bring Bever take it from them for Debt. —

Albany the 21 July 1701. —

A Private Conference between the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} & the principal Sachems of the 5 Nations —

They say when the late Gov^{r} the Earl of Bellmont brought them the News of a Peace, he told them the Prisoners on both sides should be set at Liberty, but they have not hitherto been so happy to find this true, for the Gov^{r} of Canada & the Priests detain the Prisoners taken from them upon Pretense to make them Christians. They desire the Gov^{r} to get them back to Albany & make Christians of them there.

What shall we do if the French continue to draw away our People & encroach upon our Country, they build Forts round

about us & pen us up. It is now Peace we cannot hinder them, niether is it in our Power to resist them; they have drained us of our People they all go to Canada & that upon pretence of Religion & to be converted, We see it is only to enslave us. We know very well how they did at Cadaraqui, & so they come nearer & nearer. They are going about to make a Fort at [1] Keenthee on the side of Cadaraqui Lake another Principal Passage w^ch^ our Indians cannot Shun when they come from their Hunting. We hear that one of (p. 39) our Indians called Oraja Dicka that has been 2 years amongst the French in Canada & is there still, has given Consent to build this Fort, but We 5 Nations know nothing of it neither will we give leave, for by such means the French possess themselves of our Territorys.

They repeat their desire that their Secretary Rob^t^ Livingston may be sent forthwith to his Majesty upon all these Points. —

The Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ told them he would consider of their Proposals & would do anything that was proper for him to do for their Ease Satisfaction & future Tranquility

N.B. From this Conferrence to the 13 Dec^r^ 1704. There are no Records entered of Indian Affairs. —

Albany 13 Dec^r^ 1704. —

Information by a Messenger is bro^t^ to the Commiss^rs^ for Indian Affairs, that a French Man & an Indian were come to the 5 Nat^s^ & desired a Meeting with them at Onondago. That the 5 Nations had deferred that Meeting until they had accquainted their Bretheren of Albany with it, that they might send up some of their Body to be present at it —

The Commiss^rs^ agreed to dispatch Two or three Persons thither with proper Instructions for their Behaviour. —

The 17^th^ those Persons returned back, having met on their way 2 of our Indians who are returned from Canada lately, and bring Intelligence that the Gov^r^ of Canada was so much provoked at the Gov^r^ of New York for sending Two Belts of Wampum to the Cachnawaga Praying Indians in Canada Inviting them to return and live amongst their Bretheren the Mohawks, that he

[1] Probably at the Place now called Osswego.

declared he would raise a force & fall upon the Gov^{r} of New York for so doing, & that Amunition had been delivered out & preparations making accordingly.

The Commiss^{rs} directed the Messengers to proceed on (p. 40) their Journey to Onondago, & to send the Two Indians to them to be further Examined. And if they should hear a Confirmation of this News, that they should apply for the assistance of the 5 Nations to march Down to Albany —

A French Praying Indian arrived at Albany & informs, that the Two Belts of Wampum that [the Two] the Gov^{r} had sent to Canada to the Praying Indians in the Castle of Cachnawaga, had effected such a Disposition in many of them to return & live amongst the Mohawks that three of the Chief Sachems were on their way to Albany & this Indian was come with an Intention to remain among our Indians — That this Affair made a great noise in Canada & put the People there into a Consternation.

Albany 8 Jan^{ry} 1704/5 —

The Messengers dispatched to Onondago arrive at Albany & Say that the French said to be arrived at Onondaga as Ambassadors from Canada had only been in the Sennekas Country & left a Priest there — but had sent the French Interpreter to Onondago to desire a meeting there w^{ch} was granted before our Messengers arrived.[1] that the Messenger told them to be on their Guard against the Wagenhaw Indians & to stay at home. (this seems to be a false Alarm in order to keep the Indians from acting against the Party designed from Canada)

That the Interpreter laid down the Two Belts of Wampum w^{ch} had been sent to the Praying Indians of Canada, & said s^{d} Indians would not accept it. but desired the Gov^{r} would take no notice of their Refusal. —

[1] I find in several Instances when the 5 Nat^{s} receive a Request from the French for a Meeting at Onondago, tho they send our Gov^{r} word to dispatch Deputies thither, they [always] generally take care to make an end of the Meeting before our Deputies can arrive, w^{ch} is a peice of Policy to conceal from us what they think proper.

the 15 Janry 1704/5.

A Message from the 5 Nations that they keep their Warriors at home in readiness to send them down to Albany whenever they shall be required. —

(P. 41.) I find by the Records about this Time this Govr & that of Canada were sending Invitations to each others Indians to gain them over — with this difference, We sent to induce those who had left us to return, the French to debauch more from us — in the former we dont appear to have succeeded, in the latter the French in some Measure did —

Albany 29 May 1705 —

A Message from the Sennekas Country, that the said Sennekas have received Information that 4 Nations of the farr Indians have taken up the Hatchet against the 5 Nations, and to advise them to be on their Guard. upon wch a Meeting is summoned at Onondaga & the Indians desire the Commissrs to send Deputies thither to consult for the preservation of their Country & the Good of the Province. — The Commissrs accordingly dispatch Lawre Classe the Interpreter. —

Albany 6 June 1705 —

Six of the Chief Sachems of the Cacknawaga Castles in Canada arrived at Albany. And make a Short Speech — that they are come in a friendly & Peaceable Manner — And give Strings of Wampum to wipe away all Blood wch hath been shed by them. And make an Apology that they could not come before having been hindered by Matters of great importance.

[Its] — They are civilly answered, invited to come and live amongst their Bretheren the Mohawks & told that Col. Schuyler will go down with them to the Govr at New York — 9th day. They Answer that they have concluded to observe the Commissrs Orders & go down with Col. Schuyler to New York but did not expect they should have been ordered thither.

Albany 11 August 1705 —

D. Waderhoe an Englishman who hath lived amongst the Cayouge Nation (one of the 5) from a Child & now a Sachem a Serious Man & very true to this Government, came to Albany &

accquainted the (p. 42) Commissioners that Two Companies of Toegsagrondie Indians were lately arrived in the Sennekas Country, One Company whereof were designed to Albany & the other to Canada, but by the instigation of Jonkeur the French Interpreter who lives in the Sennekas Country, the Party designed for Albany were prevented from fulfilling their Intentions — He says Bretheren I must tell you that you may blame yourselves for want of Commerce with those Indians of Toegsagrondie & others of the farr Nations, by reason that you have not a man or two in the Sennekas Country continually, for had there been anybody to represent this Government as there is from Canada, those had not gone to Canada. I desire you will consider this Matter.

If you do not send up some Person to represent this Government you will be apt to loose most of your Indians by reason of the great Influence the Gov^{r} of Canada gains upon them by the Jesuits & the Interpreter continually amongst them.

Upon this it was resolved by the Commiss^{rs} to dispatch the Indian Interpreter up to the Sennekas Country with proper Instructions. —

Albany the 20 Nov^{r} 1705 —

The Commiss^{rs} received Information that the French Gov^{t} [has] had recalled the French from the Fort of Toegsagrondie & the Wood Scouts about Ottowawa & had ordered all his Indians to stay at home this Winter — from hence they Suggested he designed some Attack upon Albany or the Settlements thereabout — In consequence whereof they wrote a Letter to the Gov^{r} desiring he will fall upon proper measures to secure them.

Albany 23 feb^{ry} 1705/6.

The Commiss^{rs} receive Intelligence that the French have prevailed upon the Cayouge Nation (one of the 5 & always very (p. 43) faithful to this Gov^{t}) to receive a French Priest amongst them whom they are to fetch next Spring & with him comes another to releive the French Priest at Onondago. —

The Commiss^{rs} dispatch two Persons to reside amongst the Indians, one to Onondaga the other to the Cayouge Nat^{n} to pre-

vent if they can, these destructive Measures of the French whereby they debauch our Indians from us. —

Albany 10 April 1706. —

The Messengers just now mentioned returned from Onondaga & the Cayouge Castles, and say they diswaded & forewarned the Cayouges from receiving any french Jesuit amongst them, & that it would be prejudicial to the 5 Nations & their Bretheren of this Gov^t — The Sachems told them, that the French-affected Indians at Onondaga, had inspired many of the Cayouge's with this Inclination for a French Priest, & that the only way to prevent its taking Effect would be for the English as they had been often desired, to send some Men up with a capable Man for their Officer to reside at the Cayouge Castles, w^ch would keep the Indians steady in their Attachment to the English & prevent the Machinations of the French.

This Proposal was sent down to N. york to the Gov^r

Albany 3^d June 1706 —

A Messenger who was dispatched to the Sennekas Country returns & accquaints the Commiss^rs — that in his way home amongst the Cayouga Nation he found the Majority inclined to receive a French Priest amongst them, but that with great difficulty he prevailed on them to defer their final Detirmination till they would hear from our Gov^r — that the Sennekas & Onondages had each one, & that unless proper Persons were sent to reside amongst the 5 Nations they would all probably receive French Priests amongst them w^ch would be of the most fatal Consequence to this Gov^t —

(P. 44.) Albany 18 June 1706 —

Advice comes to the Commiss^rs from the Interpreter at Onondago. That the Cayouge Nation have given him assurances that the will not receive any French Priest amongst them if the Gov^r will send a Man of respect, an Interpreter, a Smith & a Brazier to reside amongst them. Intelligence hereof was sent down to the Gov^r

I find that this Time tho the Indians had several Shirmishes amongst themselves, that is to say [among] betwixt the 5 Na-

tions & some far Nations of Southward Indians, & that the Canadians & French Indians made inroads upon New England & Scalpt over that Country, yet the 5 Nations established a neutraility in favour of this Gov^{t} by w^{ch} means Peace & Trade flourished at Albany. —

24 July 1706.

The Commiss^{rs} send advice to the Gov^{r} that unless proper Men are sent to reside amongst the Five Nations the French by their Priests & their Presents will probably succeed in Debauching them from our Alliance.

Albany the 14 of Aug^{t} 1706. —

At a General Meeting between the Commiss^{rs} of Albany & the Representatives of the 5 Nations —

The Indians They [complain] accquaint the Commiss^{rs} of sundry Matters relating to their own Wars & Alliances, wherewith they say they have also sent to accquaint the French & to desire their Advice as they now do ours. —

They complain, that tho they have so often sollicitated for a Smith to be fixt at Onondaga whom they will satisfy for his Labour, yet they can get none sent to them, & say the French are daily offering them their People whom they decline accepting, And that unless we send them an Interpreter & such People as they want amongst them the Gov^{r} must not blame them if they take Men from (p. 45) the French.

They complain of the Dearness of Gun Pouder w^{ch} being so essential an Article they desire it may be sold Cheaper. —

They complain that when they have a general Meeting at Onondaga (when all the Indian Politicks are Discussed) & send word to the Gov^{r} to send up a Representative for this Gov^{t} none is sent up, & desire it may not be so any more. —

The Commiss^{rs} Answer

That they do very ill to consult with the Gov^{r} of Canada upon their Affairs who is underhand contriving their Ruin.

That as to a Smith they will write the Gov^{r} about it, but that the Christians complain when they are in the Indian Country, the Indians get Drunk & put them in fear of their Lives.

That the Gun Pouder belongs to the Private People & they cannot put a price upon it, but they believe it is sold as Cheap as can be afforded.[1] —

I find in Nov^r 1706. An Interpreter from this Gov^t was sent to reside at Onondaga & Cayouga to watch the Motions of the French & to prevent their Influence to the prijudice of this Government.

Albany 29 Sep^r 1706. — Vol. 2^d of the Records.

My Lord Cornbury Gov^r & Command^r in Chief met the Indians at Albany w^ch is the first meeting there held by a Gov^r or Lieu^t Gov^r [from] that appears in the Records from [the] July 1701. in the intermediate Time everything was managed by the Comm^rs a Neutrality subsisted between the Gov^r of Canada, whilst a Hot War was carried on by the French against New England, & it appears from the Records that the Comm^rs used their Endeav^rs with the 5 Nations to exert their Influence with the Indians in Canada & elsewhere not to make war upon New England—but (p. 46) this had little or no Effect. The French during this Time were practising every Art in their Power to increase their Influence amongst the 5 Nations, [&] also to distress & disturb them by fomenting Wars, Feuds & Misunderstandings between them & the farr Nations [that] w^ch lye to the Southward & Westward of the Sennecas Country, & did engage them in a War with the Flat Heads who live at back of Carolina — And tho the Commissioners did at several times lay open to the 5 Nations this Perfidious Conduct of the French yet such was their Attachment to the French or such was their Fear of them, that the 5 Nations kept up a friendly commerce with the Gov^r of Canada & harboured the Jesuits amongst them

However Numbers of the farr Nations came down to Albany & Traded with the Inhabitants, w^ch created a great Jealousy in the French & set them at work to endeavour to disturb the Tranquility [of] amongst the Indians & by engaging them in

[1] The Commissioners at Albany always were & are Indian Traders & Dutch Men, who by all impartial Accounts Cheat the Indians & impose upon them to the utmost of their abilities, & few if any [of] ever lived in that Town but what are Indian Traders.

Civil Warrs amongst one another to prevent their continuing a Trade with Albany, & this in a great Measure they Effected. — They French sent Pouder & Shot Gratis amongst the 5 Nations to induce them to go out & fight w^ch^ was a great means of prevailing on them — I find at this Time it was very justly apprehended that one great Design of the French seducing our Indians to march to the Southward, was to take from us their assistance & whilst they were gone out to war the French might more easily make an Attack upon this Gov^t^ w^ch^ was expected & feared at Albany. —

From the beginning of the Records to the End of the first Vol. The Indians are constantly pressing in the strongest manner to obtain the Three following Points —

1. That a Prudent & Capable Person who understands their Language & invested with proper Powers from the Gov^t^ may reside at Onondago the Place of their Grand assemblys & occasionally make a Progress thro the several Castles as the State of Affairs may require.

2. That a Gun Smith with proper Tools good Steel & Iron may be fixt at Onondago, to repair their Guns Hatchets &^c^

(P. 47.) 3. That Powder & Shot may be kept at such prices that they can afford to buy such Quantities as may be necessary for War & Hunting. —

As these Three Articles are at almost every Public Conference pressed in the warmest manner upon the Gov^r^ & the neglect of them complained of, it seems to evince but from what Cause I know not, that they were neglected — From the Indians constant earnestness on these Points & from their own Nature, they seem to appear to be of material Consequence & the neglect of them very impolitic [1] —

(P. 49.) Albany 22^d^ Feb^ry^ 1706/7. —

The French Jesuits at Onondaga & Cayouge stir up the 5 Nations to go out a fighting against the Farr Indians in order to prevent those farr Indians from coming to Trade at Albany, and raise several false reports among them to the prejudice of the English.

[1] Here a blank space over a page in length occurred in the MS. — Ed.

21 June.

The French Emissarys instigate the Mohawks to go out a fighting against a Nation of Indians who live at the back of South Carolina —

The Commiss^{rs} inform the Indians that these Measures of the French are only to destroy & weaken the Indians in our Alliance, who [want] want by these Means to reduce them so low that they may be able by & by to fall on them & totaly destroy them, they therefore advise & desire them to keep Peace with the Farr Nations & mind their own hunting.

I do not find recorded what answer the Indians made nor what measures they took. —

Montour an Indian who came over from the French to this Gov^{t} brings several farr Indians to Trade at Albany & receives a Reward for the same, tho I think not equal to his Service, (being but £5). however he promises to go among the farr Nations again & bring down more Indians. —

16 July 1707. —

The 5 Nations send a Message to the Commiss^{rs} that they want to communicate some Matters to the Gov^{r} an Express is sent down to L^{d} Cornbury who returns Answer that the Queens service calls him another way & that he will meet them in Sep^{r} next. 25 July. the Indian Sachems arrive & are told L^{d} Cornburys Answer, they say the time mentioned is too long for them to stay & therefore they will communicate to the Commiss^{rs} what they have to say. Viz.

That they cannot prevail upon the Praying Indians of Canada to stay at home & not fight against New Eng^{d} (p. 50) that s^{d} Indians must be obed^{t} to the Gov^{r} of Canada —

That the Gov^{r} of Canada would not accept of the Mediation of the 5 Nations between him & New Eng^{d} but answered if the People of New England had anything to say to him they might come themselves.

That according to the request of this Gov^{r} last year, They had made a Peace with the Tjucksakrondie Indians But that they had now several Warriours gone out against the Flat Heads who live at the back of South Carolina, And if this Gov^{t} wanted to pre-

vent their going to Warr thither they must send a fit Person with Belts of Wampum to each of the 5 Nations —

To all w^ch^ the Commiss^rs^ Answered they would lay what the Sachems had said before His Excellency.

1 Aug^t^ I find the Interpreter was dispatched [among] to the Indians in order to persuade the Sennecas & Onondagas not to let the French Interpreter build any house in their Countrys & to disswade the Indians from making war upon the Flat Heads.

Albany 29 Sep^r^ 1707. —

Lord Cornbury Gov^r^ meets the Indians at Albany —

Two Onondaga Sachems accquaint him that some Nations of Indians who live towards Maryland called in the Mohawk Language [1] Cagnawassage to the Amount of Ten Castles were inclined to come & settle amongst the 5 Nat^s^ & live under their Protection & that Two of their Sachems were now residing in the Mohawks Country to learn their Language. They present his Lordship with a Belt of Wampum from those Indians —

They complain that the People of Virginia Maryland & Pensilvania do not come & renew the Coven^t^ Chain —

His Lordship answers. That as to those Indians who are desirous of settling under their Protection, he approves (p. 51) it & that they whilst they behave themselves with that Duty & Obedience to this Gov^t^ w^ch^ becomes them they shall live in full Security & Protection.

That as to Virginia, Maryland & Pensilvania's not coming to renew the Cov^t^ that at his first coming to Albany (w^ch^ I find no record of, this being the first meeting of his Recorded) he had renewed the Cov^t^ in behalf of those Colonies. but since they suspect their withdrawing from the Cov^t^ Chain he will enquire about it & give them an acc^t^ next time he comes to Albany.[2]

[1] Shawawnees who now live amongst the Sennecas. —

[2] The Indians expect Periodical Meetings from all the Colonies in their Alliance or Cov^t^ Chain & to have presents made them. And this ought not to be neglected or too long postponed. And if a Triennial Meeting at Albany between all the Brit^sh^ Colonies & the Indians was to be held, it might be very useful.

Albany 4 October 1707.

The Information of Laurence Claasse Interpreter to the Commiss^rs who is arrived from a progress amongst the 5 Nations —

That great Numbers of the 5 Nations are out fighting against the Flat-Head Indians who live at the back of Carolina (the Cattabaw's).

That the French have engaged them in this War, & that Gov^t supplies them with Arms & Amunition gratis.

That several of the Sachems of the 5 Nations are uneasy at this War as it drains them of their People & leaves their Country in so defenceless a Condition that they are affraid the French may put some Treacherous Designs in Execution against them now their Young Warriors are absent. They therefore applied to Laur. Claasse that he would desire & advise this Gov^t to send Belts of Wampum thro the 5 Nations to dissuade them from going out to fight against the Flat Heads. —

That the Sennekas are very much inclined to the (p. 52) French Interest. The French Interpreter is lately come from Canada & brought another Priest with him in the room of him that was there before who is gone to Canada —

Albany 31 Jan^ry 1707/8

Four Oneida Sachems as Deputies from the 5 Nations are sent to the Commiss^rs to accquaint this Gov^t that y^e Two chief Sachems of a Nation of Western Indians called Wississachoos [1] were come to the Sennecas Country & accquainted the 5 Nations, that there were Three Castles of their Countrymen come to settle at a place about 8 Miles above Jagare, & hoped that the Sennecas who were their nearest Neighbours would bear the same Friendly & peacable Heart towards them as they did towards the Sennecas, & desired they might be in all respects united with the 5 Nations — This was accepted by the 5 Nations & the proposed Union ratified with all the Solemnities usual amongst the Indians.

The s^d Sachems tell the Commiss^rs further, that tho their Nation have in a distinguishing Manner complied with the desires & Directions of this Gov^t, yet their so earnest & frequent

[1] These were probably the Missisagas, a tribe living to the east of Lake Huron. — Ed.

Request for a Smith is not regarded & they once more beg they may have one.

It is only recorded that the above Sachems were thanked for their News w^ch^ should be transmitted to the Gov^r^ — a triffling Present was given them

Albany 20 May 1708 —

The Commiss^rs^ dispatch'd a River Indian last year with a Belt of Wampum to the Sawanoe Indians (who live upon some of the Branches of the Susquehannah) to invite them with their Wives & Children to come & live in this Gov^t^ — The Messenger returned this day with their Answer, w^ch^ was that they were inclined to come.

22 May.

Five Sachems of Canada Cacknawaga Indians come to Albany in consequence of a Belt of Wampum sent to them from this (p. 53) Government & tell the Commiss^rs^ that tho it is true they have made Warr upon New England for 3 years past, yet they now bury the Hatchet & are resolved never to take it in hand again against the People of New England.

They desire they may have Goods Cheap & a good price for their Bever. —

The Commiss^rs^ Answer them — That they are very glad to hear they are come to a resolution to lay down the Hatchet against the Bretheren of New England, & that they hope neither they nor any other Indians in their Interest will take It up again.

They tell them the only way to have goods cheap is not to take any Fees from such Persons as go out of Town to meet them in order to bring them to their Houses where they sell 'em goods at a dearer rate to answer the Fees or presents made them. but to come directly into the City & see where they can buy cheapest.[1]

[1] It is a custom in Albany to this day that when any Indians are expected down Hudson's River from Canada with Bever, for the Traders to go themselves or send Scouts waiting for some days many Miles from Albany to lay hold of the Indians & secure their Bever. These People keep with the Indians & on their Arrival at Albany lay hold of their Packs of Bever & carry them into their own Houses where they make the Indians Drunk & cheat them. some have Waggons ready 5 or 6 Miles from Albany unload their Cannoes & carry the Bever to their Houses in the City.

Albany 28 May 1708 —

This day Laurence Classe the Interpreter arrives from Onondaga with a Message from the Sachems of that Castle to accquaint their Brother Corlaer that they have Intelligence the Gov^t^ of Canada is going to build Two Forts & to post Garrisons therein. The One to be at the Place called by the Indians Tweegasie (this I take to be [that Place where Fort Osswego is now built] Irondequat or thereabouts[1] & the other at Oghjagere or the Great Falls (Fort Niagra belonging to the French) being the Two chief Places where the 5 Nations generally hunt their Beavers, — which design they see is not only to disturb their hunting but to draw off as many of the 5 Nations as they can & to Debauch the rest & then to fall upon them with their own Men, when they will be in no Capacity or Strength to withstand them; (p. 54) therefore think themselves obliged to give their Bro^r^ Corlaer timely notice hereof, earnestly desiring that to secure & keep the 5 Nations firm & steady to this Gov^t^ the only way is to take Possession & settle a Garrison or two at the most convenient Places to prevent any such Settlement of the French w^ch^ if made by them will surely tend to the ruine of the 5 Nations. Do further desire that their Bro^r^ Corlaer will forthwith send them word what he will do in this Matter & whether he will so lay it to heart & consider of it that a Settlement may be made for the Quiet & Ease of the 5 Nations who otherwise in all Likelihood will be scattered abroad —

Say further they are in doubt whether their Bro^r^ Corlaer will take heed hereof since they have been so long slighted & no care taken of the Covenant, It having been but once renewed by their Bro^r^ Corlaer in Person since his arrival to this Gov^t^ Therefore desire he will take notice of this their Request & not slight them it being a Matter of great Consequence whereon the welfare of the 5 Nations & their Castles depend. They would have their Bro^r^ Corlaer to consider when the 5 Nations are removed or scattered what will become of him, therefore it is best to join hand & hand as Bretheren for the safety of both sides.

[1] In reality at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, the site of Ogdensburg. Irondequat was on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, considerably westward of Oswego. — Ed.

The Interpreter further informs the Commiss^rs that the French Jesuit in Onondaga hath a Considerable Store of Goods w^ch he daily distributes to the Indians to gain their affection & that the French Interpreter is daily expected with great Presents for the 5 Nations.

Hereupon the Commiss^rs wrote the following Letter to My Lord Cornbury then Gov^r

Albany 29 May 1708.

May it please Your
Excellency

Inclosed is the Report of a Message sent from the Sachems of Onondaga by Laurence Claasse the Interpreter who comes Express to give an Acc^t thereof we perceive thereby & are humbly of Opinion that if the French be admitted to settle at the places the Inclosed mentions (p. 55) it will not only delude most of [the 5 Nations] our Indians to the French but also in time totally ruine the 5 Nations. We hope your Excell^cy — will consider the Matter & lay it before the Council that Means may be used to prevent any such Settlement of the French. We cannot but accquaint your Excell^cy that we find the [French] Five Nations very cool in their Fidelity & truly no Wonder since the French are daily with them making their Bretheren here Odious & gaining their Affection by Gifts & presents by w^ch means they gain great Influence as may be seen by Canachquenjie cheif Sachem of Oneyde whereon all the Castle depends who with others as reported are gone to Canada its much feared the Jesuits will debauch him.

We are
Y^r Excell^cys &^c

Albany 20 July 1708 —

My Lord Cornbury present.

Some far or Western Indians settled about Lake Erie or Tughsackrondie come to Albany & accquaint his Excell^cy Viz.

We are come here from our own Country to see you tho much against the persuasions of the Gov^r of Canada who ordered us to the Contrary.

We are not come about any Land or public affairs but only to Trade & Traffick, & there are a great number of our Neighbours & Country Men would come hither to Trade but the Gov^{r} of Canada doth hinder them but we are broke thro notwithstanding.

We pray you to have pity on us that we may have goods cheap, that our Bretheren may see when we return home what good pennyworths we can buy here & then they will break thro & come here to buy Merchandise cheap as we have done.

(P. 56.) My Lord answered them — That he was glad to see them — and when they come home desired em to tell their Bretheren that they had seen him at Albany & that he would have been glad to have seen more of them & that as often as they come they shall bee civily treated, & in token whereof he gives them a Belt of Wampum.

That all imaginable Care shall be taken that they may have Goods as cheap as possible, but that they are somewhat dearer because the Ships expected from England are not yet arrived. but that they may accquaint their Bretheren when they come home that they will always find Goods cheaper here than at [Alba] Canada.

Albany 26 July 1708 —

A Mohawk Indian lately arrived from Canada is examined what news there. he says the Gov^{r} was making great Preparations for some Expedition but he could not learn whither. that he had applied to the Cacknawaga Indians to join him, but they semmed very tardy & unwilling to join in any undertaking against the Indians. That he had also applied to some of the 5 Nations who were then in Canada but they had absolutely refused & said they wondered he would ask them such a Question —

Albany 26 July 1708 —

All the Sachems of the 5 Nations not being [arriv] yet arrived L^{d} Cornbury summoned a cheif Sachem of Onondaga, One d^{o} of Oneyde, Two Mohawk Sachems & Two Sachems of the Sennekas w^{ch} were all the Sachems in Town, & spoke to them to the following Purpose. —

That he [was] came up to Albany at this Juncture (tho the Queens Affairs called him another way) at the request of the 5 Nations who earnestly desired the same, w^ch^ he would not refuse being unwilling that the 5 Nations should at any time want an opportunity to represent anything w^ch^ they might think fit to offer to the Queen. That he had

now

(p. 57) staid Eleven days in expectation the other Sachems would come down, but finding no probability of their coming & the Queens Affairs requiring his Attendance at New York he was about returning thither.

That he designs to return to Albany by the 20 Sep^r^ following & desires the Sachems of the 5 Nations will then meet him, having many things to communicate to them by the Queens Command. That if in the meantime they have anything to communicate to do it to the Commissioners who will transmit an Account thereof to him, & they shall have a speedy answer. gives them 7 Strings of Wampum to accquaint the 5 Nations when he intends to be up again & that they may meet him.

That he was glad some of the principal Sachems were present to bear Witness that he had come according to appointment.

The Indians answered

That they were very well satisfied his Excell^cy^ had Staid here with a great deal of Patience, that there was no certainty when the other Sachems would be down. —

That they would deliver his Message to the 5 Nations to meet his Lordship precisely at the day appointed.

Albany 26 July 1708.

Dekansor chief Sachem of the Onondagas waited upon his Lordship to take his leave of him & spoke as follows.

When you hear that the French have made a Fort at Ochjagare (now Fort Neagra) you may conclude that we are an undone People & Lost & when we are gone & dead you may expect it to be your turn next, for we look upon ourselves to be one People with you, One heart, One Head, One Flesh One Blood & must declare that we ourselves are not able to put a stop to the French Designs.

his Lordship answered, that he was very sorry the Indians had neglected meeting him at the appointed time when necessary Measures might have been concected between them, & Matters have been laid before the Great Council of (p. 58) Government (meaning I suppose the Assembly) however that he would lay it before that Council & against he comes up again shall take such Methods as will be most convenient. in the meantime he desired the 5 Nations would use all the possible means in their Power to prevent the French settling there.

Dekanser returned his Lordship thanks & with all told him with Regret that the Sennecas & Onondagas formerly frequently advertised this Gov^{t} when a storm threatened them from the French but could never obtain any Relief or Assistance & hopes that better care may be taken for the future. —

Albany 2^{d} Aug^{t} 1708.

Further Intelligence comes to the Commiss^{rs} of a great Armament in Canada but whither designed could not be learnt. however the Commiss^{rs} sends notice thereof to New England to advise them to be on their Guard. —

The 5 Nations in conjunction with the Cachnawaga Indians of Canada & with the concurrence of this Gov^{t} procured a kind of tacit Neutrality between the Colony of New York & Canada, [so that no war was made further but] by which means Peace was enjoyed in this Colony & all the designs of the Gov^{r} of Canada were bent upon New England, who were greatly harrassed & suffered much. however the Commiss^{rs} of Albany by means of the 5 Nations learnt most of the Motions of the French & sent advice thereof to New England — during this time they appear to have had a flourishing Trade at Albany as well from Canada as the Westward but according to the Genius of those People, intent upon getting money but careless in Political System with regard to Futurity. Whereas the French were securing their Influence extending their Settlements & building Forts at very important Passes in the Indian Countries to the Westward w^{ch} promised & hath procured them more solid Advantages, than the imediate profits in Trade w^{ch} took up the Attention of this

Gov^{t} [who submitted themselves to] w^{ch} was under the Management of the Albany Commissioners who in general have ever been a set of Weak, Mercenary, mean Spirited People every way unfit for the Trust reposed in them —

(P. 59.) Albany 5 Aug^{t} 1708 —

The Sachems of the 5 Nations arrive at Albany & finding Lord Cornbury gone they speak to the Commiss^{rs} in Substance as follows.

when we were here last [fall] Autumn to treat with My Lord Cornbury we were then informed of the Death of his Lady, & we beleive he has been much grieved thereat as he hath not treated with us of any public Affairs since —

They then make their presents of Condolance upon her Death.

They say, the Nation called Twich Twicks have proposed to the 5 Nations & do the same to this Gov^{t} that there may be a free Passage for em thro the 5 Nations to this Town, & that if thro Drunkenness or any inadvertency, misconduct should happen, Matters may be amicably composed, — upon w^{ch} Article the 5 Nations present a belt of Wampum thereby proposing that a Conferrence may be held between them & us what answer shall be made to the TwichTwicks —

Also that the Wagenhaws have had their Agents in the Sennecas Country who say a Path was formerly opened for them down to Albany. —

No Answer from the Commiss^{rs} follows in the Records to the above very important Articles relating to the Twich Twicks & Wagenhaws. —

The next article is that at 8 aClock the same Night the Sachems proposed that His Excell^{cy} might be sent for, because not only all their Chief Sachems were arrived but many of their Young Men were upon their way hither upon whom the whole Nations did very much depend, & since strange reports came every day it would be necessary that good Measures should be taken for the public Good by both Christians & Indians —

All the Answer from the Commiss^{rs} recorded is, that they desired the Indians would choose out some brisk young Men from each Nation to go as Spies to Canada. —

To w^ch^ the Sachems replyed that when they had an Ans^r^ to their proposals ab^t^ his Excell^cys^ coming up they would answer ab^t^ their sending Spies to Canada —

(P. 60.) Albany 6 Aug^t^ 1708 —

The Commiss^rs^ accquaint the Indians in Answer to their Proposal to send for the Gov^r^ that he had been up here according to their desire & staid Eleven days expecting their arrival & was obliged to return to New York but would be up again in 45 days from this day. —

The Indians answered that they had learnt this much from Dekanssor & were very well satisfied in the Matter.

That as to their sending out Spies to Canada It is a very uncustomary thing among them when they come to treat of public Affairs to be desired to undertake the office of Scouts or Spies, & that if the Christians were to come to treat in their Country & they were apprehensive of any Danger fron an Enemy, they should send out some of their own People & not expect Protection from those who were come to treat with them. They desire if they want Spies to send out some of the River Indians. And with this Sarcastic Answer they give a bunch of Wampum.

The Commiss^rs^ answer that they thought their Proposal for some of them to go out as Spies would be agreable to them as it manefested the Confidence they had in them, and that several Skaticook Indians had offered their Services to go out. — [1]

Albany 9 Aug^t^ 1708 —

A Speech of the Sachems of the 5 Nations to the Commiss^rs^ —

You desired us last Winter with several hanks of Wampum that we should not go out to fight against the Odadioenes [2] Indians & Flat heads but to stay at home & secure our own Wives & Children. but when such a Message is sent you ought to have sent Belts not hanks of Wampum, and you ought not to have sent it by a common Messenger but by one of your own Body —

[1] These Indians had come from New England and settled in the eastern part of the province toward the end of the seventeenth century. — Ed.

[2] These were probably the Cherokees, called Oyadagaono by the Iroquois. — Ed.

Such Proceedings look as if you were not very eager to have your Requests complied with — however we have done it & remained at home & we shall continue to observe y^r^ Directions.

Tho we so frequently desire to have Powder & Lead cheaper (p. 61) yet they grow Dearer & Dearer & the Bags of Powder are now less than ever.[1] This is the last time we shall make our Complaints & if we do not meet with Success we shall run Mad. Consider Bretheren if by the dearness of Pouder & Shot of such great importance to us, we fall a Prey to the French, Your turn will be next.

Another thing we complain of. When we come to this Town the Traders are all ready to receive us into their Houses & lodge us, but as soon as they have got all our Bever from us then they turn us out.

You have desired that we should not disturb the Indians who live near Maryland. Five years ago we desired a Time & place might be appointed for us to meet some of those Indians to make an Everlasting Peace with them, but all our Requests to you prove abortive.

By our keeping at home at your Desire & in order to be ready to march to y^r^ Protection, We are become Poor therefore desire you will order our Guns & Axes to be mended.

The Commiss^rs^ answered that they would Transmit to His Excell^cy^ what they had said & that their Guns & Axes should be mended.

11 Aug^t^ The Commiss^rs^ having intelligence that Great Warlike Preparations were making by the Gov^r^ of Canada sent out Spies to learn their Motions who returned with an Acc^t^ that an Army was marching & had got as far as the Wood Creek, that the Gov^r^ had in a manner forced some Cagnawaga Indians to join him, but when they were got to the Wood Creek recollecting their

[1] I suppose Pouder was sold by the Bag & the Albany People according to their general & usual Principle of Action had cheated the Indians & made their Bags less. It was by such Mean & dishonest Methods that they became Odious & Contemptible to the Indians, lost their Esteem & Confidence, & that great improvement of their Trade with the Western & farr Indians w^ch^ might have fallen into their hands & by that means secured those Indians to our Interest. Trade is the best & surest foundation to secure their Alliance &c.

Engagements with us not to join in War against New England w^ch they supposed was to be Attacked, threw away all their Provisions & left the other Forces who were thereupon returned & that the Gov^r of Canada was highly exasperated at this Conduct. And that the Indians offered him to pay for the Guns h. had given them & for the Provisions they had thrown away. —

Albany 25 Sep^r

The Indian Sachems & several others attending upon them having waited in Town for My Lord Cornburys coming up according to his (p. 62) appointment His Lordship sent up Col Peter Schuyler to tell them that the Queens Affairs obliged him to remain at New York & therefore he had sent Col Schuyler to make them a Speech in his Name & to give the Presents. —

Col Schuyler made them a Short Speech the cheif part of w^ch is to recommend them to encourage the farr Nations to come thro their Countrys down to Albany & Trade.

he tells them also that their Complaints of the Dearness of Pouder cannot be wholly redressed during the present War [by] w^ch occasioned it.

The Sachems Answer the following Day —

And say that to several Articles w^ch they formerly proposed they have received no Answer. As one Instance they say, They proposed that a fixt Place should be appointed for the Bretheren of New England, Maryland & Virginia to meet the Indians as occasion may offer, and that they had pitched upon Albany as the proper Place.[1] We yesterday received Presents for w^ch we are thankful, but are concerned that several Material Things w^ch we formerly proposed to the Gov^r are taken no notice of. for Instance the Peace with the Maryland Indians — but we find that what we say is not regarded. (N.B. a Belt of Wampum had been sent

[1] It would in my Opinion be a great Advantage to the Colonies of N. America that a proper Place was fixt on (And Albany seems to be the fittest) where Triennial Meetings might be held with all the Indians in the British Alliance who could be convened & Representatives from the several Colonies — here the Indian Affairs might be carried on in a general Manner, the real Welfare of his Majes^ys Colonies consulted, at present each distinct Coloney pursue tempory Expedients with the Indians without any regard to a general Interest. They now act with a Jealousy of each other & a sort of independant Interest.

from the Maryland Indians to the 5 Nations to desire they might be joined in the Covenant Chain with them & this Gov^{t} this Belt the 5 Nations sent to the Gov^{r} L^{d} Cornbury but they now complain this Belt was never returned them nor any Notice taken of this Affair.

Col. Schuyler makes a short reply to the Indians takes no Notice of anything Material they had said. Only that they shall have a Smith sent them — And thanks them for proposing Albany to be the Place of public Meeting. —

(P. 63.) From the 25 Sep^{r} 1708 to the 17 March 1708/9. The Commiss^{rs} at Albany were alarmed at the Warlike Preparations of the Gov^{r} of Canada & kept constant Spies out to watch his Motions—The French raised several false & Scandalous Reports amongst the 5 Nat^{s} in order to debauch them from our Alliance, & created a civil Dissention amongst the Sennecas. The 5 Nations send frequent Complaints of the Dearness of Pouder & Shot & represent the fatal Consequences w^{ch} may arrise from it. —

Albany the 17 March 1708/9.

L^{d} Lovelace Gov^{r}

Lawrence Claasse Interpreter who had been amongst the 5 Nations for some Months past being returned to Albany & Examined by the Commiss^{rs} says as follows. —

That the Sennekas are in a great Confusion amongst themselves & that most of them have a design to leave their Country but know not as yet where they shall go to settle.

That a French Cap^{t} is posted at Cadaraqui who told our Ind^{s} that the Queen of Great Britain had desired the French King to join with her & to Cut off the 5 Nations & settle their Land with the French & Eng^{h} — That the more they desired Pouder & Lead might be Cheaper the Dearer it was, by w^{ch} they might see how little we regarded them. — And that the Gen^{l} Assembly w^{ch} sat at New York every year were consulting on Methods to destroy them. And that these Insinuations had such Effects upon the 5 Nat^{s} that the Interpreter could not persuade them [of] to the contrary. —

That there are 5 French Priests among the 5 Nations who daily give great Presents to the Indians to debauch them from their

Covenant with us. That there is a French Smith in the Sennekas Country who works for the Indians Gratis.

That the Onondaga, Cayouge & Oneide Indians desire to have a Smith in their Country.

Albany 6 April 1709. —

A Message arrives from the Sachems of the 5 Nations that 4 Nations (or Castles) of the farr Nations called Wagunhaes had desired a Meeting with them in order to conclude a Peace. that Onondagu was the Place appointed. They desire the Gov^{r} to send some fit Person to appear at the Meeting on his Behalf — And if he has anything to propose or desire of those Indians he must send proper Presents according to the Indian Custom — w^{ch} presents they enumerate. —

The Commiss^{rs} answer, they shall send this Intelligence to the Gov^{r} whose answer they shall be accquainted with —

(P. 64.) Albany 2^{d} May 1709.

The Commiss^{rs} by the Gov^{rs} order appoint Mr. David Schuyler & Laurence Claasse the Interpreter to go to the Meeting before mentioned at Onondaga on behalf of this Gov^{t} & with the necess^{ry} Presents for the Wagenhaes Indians —

They are instructed that if the Peace takes place they do insist that it may be an Article of it that the Wagenhaes Indians may have a free & unmolested Passage thro the 5 Nats. to Albany.

Albany 8 May 1709. —

Three Onondaga Indians arrive with a Message from the 5 Nations Authenticated with 7 hands of Wampum.

They bring an Account that the Castle of Cayouge was by accident burnt down wherein was a considerable Quantity of Goods. They desire that a Smith may be imediately be sent up with them, & as all the Smiths Tools were burnt in Cayouge they desire some Steel &^{c}

They further say that about 12 days ago Montour the Indian [1]

[1] Tho the Records do not say who this Montour was, yet from various circumstances I gather, that he was an Indian who had formerly been in the Service of the French & was by them deemed one of their Indians, (of what particular Nation I cant find but I believe either a Senneca or Mohawk Indian who had been made a

in company with 10 Sachems of the Farr Nations met the French Interpreter called Jaen Ceur & some French Men at a place called by the Indians Ossaroda being upon the Creek that lyes opposite Cayouge. The s^{d} French Interpreter Jean Ceur advised Montour to turn back again otherwise he would oblige the 5 Nations to kill him, upon w^{ch} he replied he would perform his Journey to this Place. Jean Ceur then desired him to smoak, he replied he had no Tobacco, Jean Ceur then gave him a little, Montour took out his knife to cut it, Jean Ceur then asked what he did with such a little Knife & desired Montour to give it him & he would give him one that was better. as soon as Jean Ceur had the Knife he flung it away at the same time there stood a French Man behind [Jean Ce] Montour with a Hatchet under his Coat who cut the s^{d} Montour into his Head & killed him, whereupon the 10 Sachems come to Cayouge with Montour would have killed the French Interpreter Jean Ceur & all his Company if it had not been for the s^{d} Montours Brother in Law who prevented it. Notwithstanding the great Misfortune of the Death of Montour the said 10 Sachems (p. 65) of the farr Nations will come to see their Bro^{r} Corlaer.

The Sackems of the 5 Nations desire that the said Sachems of the farr Nations may be well used when they come here & have goods at a Reasonable Rate & not be Cheated as they have been from Time to time that their Bretheren may see at their return what good Pennysworths they buy here.

All the answer hereto that I find Recorded, is that a Smith was ready to go with them. that they were desired to stand firm to the Covenant made with us. that they received 7 hands of Wampum to [bring] carry to the Sachems of the 5 Nat^{s} from one Castle to another to condole the Death of L^{d} Lovelace late Gov^{r} & to accquaint them that Col Rich^{d} Ingolsby is the present Command^{r} in Chief.

convert by the Jesuits) but had now come over to this Gov^{t} & was employed to Negotiate our Interest with the Western or farr Indians.

(There are numerous references in the contemporary documents to this half-breed interpreter. See *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Index. The Montours were later important Indian interpreters in Pennsylvania, especially Andrew Montour. — Ed.)

Albany 17 May 1709. —

Yesterday arrived here a Sachem called Kaqucka of the Messasaga Nation commonly called by the Name of the farr Nations with 4 Indians of the same Nation who came with Montour to the 5 Nations & were conducted hither by Montours Sister.

The s^d^ Sachem spoke as follows

We are come to this Place upon the word of Montour the Gov^r^ Gen^l^ said that we should always be welcome & hoped that we should come often.

We are come upon the word of Montour who was sent to us last year by this Gov^t^ to open the Path from our Country to this Place & if we are well treated here we shall always keep the Path clean & open & forget the old Path to Canada w^ch^ we have hitherto used.

Have pity on us Fathers, we are come into y^r^ Place with Nothing (meaning without Presents) we hope you shall treat Civily with us & give us Merchandise at a reasonable rate. You see our company is but small, but there shall come such a Company from our Nation hereafter as you will wonder at. As we said before we shall wholly forget the Path to Canada. We have had a great Loss having lost the Man who guided us.

We were yesterday taken into the Traders houses against our Inclination & they have taken our Furrs & we are not Masters of our own things, We therefore pray we may have our Furrs to go & Trade where we can find the best Markett.[1]

(P. 66.) Albany 18 May 1709.

The Commiss^rs^ Answered the foregoing Speech

That they were heartily Welcome & they hoped to see more of their Country Men in a short time.

assured them care should be taken that they should have Goods as cheap as possible tho they might perhaps at present find them dearer than usual.

and ordered them to be bro^t^ to the City Hall to Lodge. (N.B.)

[1] Here is a Specimen of the Albanian Spirit & how little the true welfare of the publick is considered by that worthless Crew! probably some or most of these wretches complained of were themselves Commiss^rs^ —

nothing was said to them in relation to Montours Death nor of their Goods being laid hold of. —

There arrived also at Albany Three Indians of a Nation called Nequequent among whom there was one Sachem who made the following Speech. —

We are come here upon the word of Montour to open y^r^ Door with this Key (meaning 11 Bevers w^ch^ they presented) we have had a great Loss by Montours Death, however we are come to see you.

We were sent hither by our Fathers to see this Place & to bring them News from hence, if we are well treated next year there shall come great Numbers of our Nation.

They also desire to have their Bever & Peltry out of the Traders hands who yesterday refused to let them go & to lye in the City Hall, w^ch^ was granted them.[1]

The Commiss^rs^ sent for Montours Wife & asked her if she had anything of her Husbands to return to them. She s^d^ she had a Belt of Wampum w^ch^ was sent by him & w^ch^ he did not deliver because the Sachems of that Nation it was intended for were not at home. They desired her to fetch the Belt w^ch^ she did & gave it to them.

No present or recompence is recorded to be made to this poor Widow whose Husband fell a Sacrifice to the Interests of this Gov^t^.

the 31 May the far Indians came to take their Leave, the Belt returned by Montours Widow was given them to carry to their Sachems to invite them to come to Albany & Trade. — They ended the whole Transaction, & a favorable oportunity w^ch^ well improved might might have been of infinite Advantage to this Colony seems to have been lost by falling under the Managment of a set of Ignorant Mercenary Pedlars. and to such the Conduct of Indian Affairs has been always submitted.

[1] The Traders at Albany to this day when any Indians are expected to arrive there with furrs keep on the watch & lay hold of the Indians as Custom house officers would of Smugglers, convey them into their houses, make them Drunk & then Cheat 'em. The Traders are as Jealous of each other & mortally hate one another when their Interest is concerned as the Greatest Enemies can do, But all join in Cheating —

(P. 67.) Albany 23 May 1709. —
Orders arrive from Col Ingolsby Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} to send Expresses to order the Sachems of the 5 Nations to meet him at Albany the 6 day of June ensuing with their fighting Men in order to engage the whole Body in the intended expedition against Canada

Albany 31 May 1709.
M^{r} David Schuyler who was sent the 2^{d} Inst on the part of this Gov^{t} to Onondaga to be present at the Meeting between the 5 Nations & the Deputies of the Wagenhaes Indians, returns & says he found none of those Indians at Onondaga. that the French stop all the Farre Indians at Tjouchsackrondie & will not permit them to pass hither, that the French Interpreter Jean Ceur had desired the Sennecas to kill & Plunder all the farr Indians who may come to their Country, but they refuse to do it.
Albany 9 June. Six Indians more of the Farr Nations arrive & say they were induced to come hither at the persuasions of Montour. they desire Trade & civil usage. They are answered & encouraged by the Commiss^{rs}

The Traders at Albany having learnt from the above Indians that a Report was spread & prevailed among the farr Nations that Montour was killed by the Eng. they apply to the Commiss^{rs} who accquaint the said Indians that Montour was killed by the French from a Jealousy that he would bring over the Farr Nations to Trade with us, and they give them a Belt of Wampum to carry into their Country to assure the Indians that the Path hither shall be free & safe for them.

Albany 15 July 1709.
The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Col Rich^{d} Ingoldsby meets the Mohawk, the Cayouge the Oneidas & Onondaga Indians (the Sennakas did not come down being willing to keep Neuter in the intended Expedition against Canada influenced thereto by the French Emissaries amongst them) makes very considerable Presents & orders the Sennacas fifth part thereof to be laid by for them till they had positively decalared one way or another. however after Col Ingoldsby had made his Speech (in w^{ch} there is nothing material to be noted) & the presents were given, Two Sennaka Indians

accquainted the Gov^{r} & the 4 Nations, that as they had now been witnesses of what passed they were convinced the French had told them Lyes & doubted not but their Countrymen would be willing to join the 4 Nations in the present Expedition, and that they would go & accquaint their Countrymen with all that had passed. —

The following Day the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} spoke to the River Indians on the Subject of the Expedition & gave them Presents.

[No Answers are recorded either from the 4 Nations or the River Indians, but it appears they are satisfied & engaged to assist us.]

(P. 68.) Albany 16 July 1709.

The 4 Nations Answer Col Ingoldsbys Speech & say they are pleased with the intended Expedition & will join with us therein. And the Numbers of their Men as follows

105 Oneidas
100 Cayouges
150 Mohawks
88 Onondagas

443 to these were added 60 River Indians Capt. Abraham Schuyler with 5 more Christians were dispatched to the Sennecas Country in order to disprove the Lyes which the French had propagated amongst them, & to counteract their Artifices & to keep them from being debauched by the French.

From the above date to the 4 May 1710. the Records contain various transactions relating to the Expedition, Exchange of Prisoners, & Negotiations of our Indians with the French for a Cessation of all Hostilities w^{ch} seems to have last been concluded upon. —

Albany 4 May 1710.

Laurence Claasse the Interpreter returns from the Indian Country & among other Reports says. The 5 Nations desire that the Queen of Great Britain may now take Possession of their Land at Onondaga with such officers & Men as are willing to stay, & build a Fort there & [insure] Cultivate their Land to the end the French may be kept out of it because they incroach on them

from time to time for they cannot keep their Land longer without Assistance

The Interpreter was sent back with Two Smiths & Instructions to support our Interest amongst the Indians, to use all his Influence to prevent their receiving French Priests & to counteract the French Emissaries, to gain a free Passage for the Farr Nations to come & Trade here, &c but no Answer abt the Fort at Onondaga.

15 May the 5 Nations give Notice of a general Meeting to be held at Onondaga with the Deputies from the Uttawawa's that we may send Agents thither. Accordingly the Commissrs dispatched two Persons thither.

15 June Messrs Schuyler & Banker return from the Genel Meeting at Onondaga & make the following Report. —

Passing thro Oneida in their way to Onondaga the Sachems of that Nation applied for a Smith & said they must have One & that if we would not send one they would apply where they should not be denied meaning to the French. —

In their way to Onandaga in Compy with the representative Sachems (p. 69) of Oneida, those Sachems asked them in what manner they intended to Act at the genl Meeting, whether they would consult jointly or seperately Our Agents answered jointly with the 5 Nations wch with the Oneide Sachems were well pleased. —

4 June early in the Morning being near to Onondaga we sent Wm Printop the Smith before us to Accquaint the Sachems that we, the Mohawks, Cayugas & Oniedas were coming to their Castle, upon wch Message they came out to meet us & made us Welcome. When we came into the Castle we were sent for into the Genr Assembly, Where we found 3 Wagenhaes or Uttawawas singing the Song of Joy. They had long Stone Pipes in their hands & under the Pipes hung Feathers as big as Eagles Wings. When they left off singing well we filled their Pipes & let them smoak, when They had done, They filled the Pipes for us to Smoak — this is the Token of Friendship. We then spoke & said we were glad to see them at the Appointed Place. that we heard they had been with our Bretheren the Sennecas but were all returned

hither. They answered that at first they had been only ꝑticularly invited by the Sennecas & therefore came at first no further. But being since invited by the Gov^{r} of New York & all the 5 Nations they were come accordingly to Onondaga, And we are now here Bretheren to speak of Peace. One of the 5 Nations then stood up & spoke, " Bretheren we being now to speak of Peace I desire we may lay aside all heart burnings against each other & behave with that Meekness w^{ch} becomes Bretheren.

5 June. The Sennecas relate to the Assembly what they said to the Wagenhaes when they were sent [by] in the name of this Gov^{t} & the 5 Nations to propose a Peace to them. viz. " Go with us to your Brother Corlaer, The Doors stand open for you, the Beds are made for you from the Sennecas Country to the Habitation of Corlaer, the Path is secure & there is no Ill in our Country." Then the Wagenhaes spoke to the whole House & said. "Bretheren here I am, you have told me the Door stood open, the Beds made, y^{r} Pots boiled & the Path was secure from the Sennecas Country to the Habitation of Corlaer. Let it be so." and gave a Belt of Wampum.

6 June. News came that the Mohawks were in Oneide farther Proceedings were deferred till their Arrival.

In the Evening several Indians who were averse to the Treaty (p. 70) of Peace with the Wagenhaes got Rum & went to Drinking. We therefore desired the Sachems to order the Rum Casks to be put away & that none might be drawn. They replied it was our own fault. They had so often desired that Rum might not be sold to the Indians, that the Bevers they had given to enforce that request if they were laid on a heap would almost reach to the Clouds, and we must think you sell it with no other Design than in order to destroy us, the only reason you want a Passage for the Wagenhaes is to sell them Rum. Our Young Indians are ungovernable when they get Drunk, unspeakable are the Mischiefs w^{ch} arise from Rum. We again beg you will have Compassion on us & that no Rum may be hereafter sold upon any Acc^{t} Last year your Traders gave Bevers to our young Indians that they might Petition to have Rum sold. —

7 June. The Sennecas proceed to give an Acc^{t} of their Embassy & say they addressed themselves to the Wagenhaes Nation as follows.

First. I desire a fast & everlasting Peace w^{ch} may be Inviolable for us & our Children. If you keep it our Children shall grow up together in Joy & if you do to the Contrary so shall you & we repent. gave them a Belt.

2^{dly} With this Second Belt we purify your Minds from all past evil thoughts.

3^{dly} We desire & do reconcile our young Soldiers together. If any other Nation make war upon you or us we will both join against them. If any of our People should call in your Country naked or Hungry, help them with victuals & Cloaths

4. If any difference should arise between any particular Persons of our respective Nations. Let not Revenge be taken before you know whether it has the general Consent, come therefore first here & enquire into the Matter, it shall be ever free for you to come. We will do the same towards you.

5. We desire that we may Sojourn & Trade with one another without Hatred or Malice.

6. It is the Gov^{r} of New York all the 5 Nations & the River Indians who now speak to you. We give you a Road from your Dwellings to Albany wherein you shall meet with us no Molestation. You have free Liberty to walk or Trade therein & no Body shall Molest you —

(P. 71.) Seventhly. We hear you have lately lost a great Sachem who was well affected to the Gov^{r} of New York we desire another good Man may be put in his Room — Then a young Sachem was cloathed by the Deputies of this Gov^{t} & put in his Room.

8 June. The Wagenhaes Answer
Bretheren & Gov^r^ of New York.

Last Summer we entered upon a Treaty of Peace, We now desire it may be compleatly ratified —

First. We take the Hatchet out of your hands as you have now consented to Peace. give to the whole House 4 Bevers.

2^dly^ You have taken us into your Covenant Chain w^ch^ you say shall be kept inviolable that no Ax can cut it to peices. We promise on our sides to keep the Covenant forever. In Testimony whereof they give a Bever Coat.

3^dly^ Gov^r^ of New York We are resolved to visit your Habitations to see how the Trade goes there & if we are well treated we shall come again in the Spring.

4^ly^ Now Gov^r^ of New York & Bretheren We accept the Peace in the Manner you have offered it to us & promise we will be governed by it. And they gave Two Stone Pipes to remain at Onondaga as a Memorial of this Treaty for each Party to smoke out of whenever they hereafter met there upon public Buisness. —

9 June. The Sennecas spoke to the whole Assembly & said. It is reported of us that we are inclined to the French, but what would you have us do. If we keep not ourselves Neuter the Gov^r^ of Canada makes use of his Instruments to destroy us, & assistance as you well know we cannot get. how shall we behave? If there is anything to be done for the general Good are we not always ready to do our utmost? do we not endeavour to bring the distant Nations into our Alliance? have we not spoke in Behalf of you all to the Wagenhaes?

The Onondagas answer. This meeting was [not] appointed not only to speak with the Wagenhaes, but to Weigh all Matters for the general Good. But what can we undertake (p. 72) whilst our Soldiers who are our Strength leave us & go out a fighting (by the instigation of the French) our Attempts to keep them at home are fruitless.

The Wagenhaes spoke next & s^{d}

We are not regarded in our own Country where we live, we are continually threatened & Beaten by the Gov^{r} of Canada, not with the Sword but by the secret practice of Poison in our Liquor. We are therefore inclined to come & live amongst you Bretheren, but we desire this matter may be kept private from the Gov^{r} of Canada or any who are in his Interest.

10 June. Early in the Morning the whole Assembly met & spoke to the Wagenhaes as follows.

Bretheren You have given us your Heart & we promise to keep it in good Esteem & lay it next to our Own. What you have told us shall faithfully be kept Secret on our part from the Gov^{r} of Canada, We desire that you will take care to keep it so on your side. And we desire Bretheren that you will leave y^{r} Country where you now live & come nearer to us for the Heart & Body must not be far from each other. We shall then be able to withstand the Gov^{r} of Canada or any other who may rise up against us. We desire you may depart with all speed to your own Country when you have visited Albany & let us have a speedy answer from you.

The Assembly then broke up & put an End to their Meeting.

21 June a Senneca Sachem arrives at Albany with the Wagenhaes Indians & makes a Speech to the Commiss^{rs} accquainting them that the Sennecas do renew the Covenant with our Gov^{t} & they desire we will put the Covenant Chain in a Box that it may be kept clean & continue to them & their Children after them forever. — he speeks also in Behalf of the Wagenhaes Indians recommends them to Protection & good usage in our dealings with them and that they are now become one with the 5 Nations. —

The Commiss^{rs} reply that they are well pleased the Sennecas renew the Covenant Chain and that it shall be inviolably kept by this Gov^{t} — They address themselves to the Wagenhaes & tell them that thay join them in the Covenant Chain & accept of them [as] the same as the 5 Nations, exhort them to keep firm to the Covenant & to

come & live nearer to the 5 Nations & to appear when the Indians shall be summoned by the Gov^{r} — [1]

(P. 73.) Schannectady 2^{d} July 1710 — The Commiss^{rs} by Gov^{r} Hunters Orders convened the Sachems of the Mohowks to this Town & there appeared about 20 of them of the Three Tribes the Bear, Wolf & Turtle.

The Commiss^{rs} accquainted them that the Queen had sent over several Families with Gov^{r} Hunter to be settled on the Lands at Scooheere w^{ch} had been purchased form them, but if they had any Pretensions to said Lands not yet satisfied, that it shall not be settled till they are duly satisfied for the same.

They answer that My Lord Belmont late Gov^{r} of this Province had broke the Deed of Sale & therefore it devolved upon them again. and that they would not suffer it to be surveyed till Hendrick & the other Indians returned from Great Brittain. But the 12 July the Commiss^{rs} received a Message from the Mohawks by 2 of their Sachems, that they had had a general Meeting of their whole Nation & had agreed the Lands at Scoheere should be surveyed & these Two Sachems were dispatched to go with the Surveyor Gen^{l} & assist him in laying out the same.

Albany 9 Aug^{t} 1710. Gov^{r} Hunter being there to meet the Indians Laurence Claasse the Interpreter who had been 3 Months among the 5 Nations reports to his Excell^{cy} that when he was at Onondaga the French Interpreter with 10 or 12 other French Men arrived there & accquainted the Indians, 4 Sachems of Oneida being present, that the Gov^{r} of Canada had sent him to forewarn them not to assist the English in any attempt upon the French Settlements for if they did he would come & destroy them Root & Branch &^{c} — that the French Faction among the Indians so far prevailed that they would not suffer our Interpreter to hear what answer they returned to the French, but told him they would accquaint the Gov^{r} of New York with it when they met him at Albany. —

The Sachems told the Interpreter plainly that unless the Selling of Rum to the Indians was absolutely forbid & realy complied

[1] Gov^{r} Hunter arrived about this Time & Notice thereof was given to the 5 Nations.

with, they would not live any longer in Peace in their Castles but must be obliged to seperate, & that this is the opinion of the all the Sachems of the 5 Nations —

The Sachems of Onondaga said they hoped the English would now build a Fort & garrison it well at their Settlement w^{ch} would be the only means to disconcert all the French Intrigues.

They desire a Smith may be settled there & at Oneida. —

(P. 74.) Albany 16 Aug^{t} 1710 — The 5 Nations having made their Congratulatory address to Gov^{r} Hunter on his Arrival to his Gov^{t} — His Excell^{cy} makes his Speech to them. —

And tells them, that he is informed that the French have been long & frequently endeavouring by their Jesuits & other Intriguing Methods to debauch them from their Covenant with us, & that they had lately received their Agents & would not accquaint our Interpreter with the Negotiation, w^{ch} his Excell^{cy} desires they will now explain. —

That He is glad to find they are sensible how much it is for the General Interest to extend our Alliances among the farr Nations & to give them a free Passage thro their Countrys to Albany. —

That the Great Queen of England desirous of Strengthening this Province had sent over several Families to settle in it.

That their Countrymen who had been lately in England had supplicated the Queen for Missionaries to instruct them in the Christian Religion. desires to know whether they approve of this & will be satisfied to have one or more Garrisions fixt among them & Forts for their Protection.

That in order to convince the Queen & her Gov^{r} of their Allegience & Fidelity they must receive no more French Priests or Emissaries among them.

Desires they will not go out a fighting against the Flat Heads, but go hunt for Bever, & be in the Way to assist their Bretheren if attacked by the French. —

The Gov^{r} renews the Covenant Chain of Friendship & Alliance with them in behalf not only of this Province but of all her Majesties Dominions in North America. —

The 19 Aug^{t} the Indians answer His Excell^{cys} Speech. And say

That they would willingly have Forts & Soldiers at each of their Castles w^{ch} would tend to secure them from the Insults of their Enemies to which they are now very much exposed & would wish some People might now go along with them & begin the work. They would also rejoice to have Missionaries to instruct them in the Christian Religion. And that it would be a very useful thing to have a White Person of Character at each of their Castles in order to watch & defeat the Intrigues of the French.

That they hope they have given her Majesty suff^{t} proofs of the (p. 75) sincerity of their Intentions & of their Alegiance & Fidelity, that they will further demonstrate it by refusing Admittance to any Popish Priests or Jesuits amongst them — but that the most effectual way to root out those Persons & their Influence is by Building Forts & plac^{g} Garrisons at their Castles & sending Protestant Missionaries amongst them.

That they will obey the Gov^{rs} Commands be near home & not go out a fighting against the Flat Heads.

That as to bringing back those Indians w^{ch} have deserted to the French from the 5 Nations, this Gov^{t} & themselves had tried various Expedients to do it but in vain, however they will not despair but still endeavour it.

That the Gov^{r} was pleased to commend them for encouraging & giving a free Passage to the Western Indians to come & Trade at Albany. that they will still continue their Endeavours, but that the Traders at Albany can more Effectually compass this Matter they can by selling their Goods cheap, whereas they find the Contrary & that the Traders always tell them Bever is a Drug — [1]

[1] This would aford a series of much reasoning & point out one of the Chief reasons why the French have gaind that Superior & more extensive Influence over the various Nations of Indians upon the Continent & w^{ch} may one day or another be of fatal Consequence to the British Colonies & give the French that Extent of Dominion & Ballance of Trade, w^{ch} but for our Indolence, & impolitic Selfishness they could never possibly have compassed.

That as to what the French Agents Who were lately in their Country had s^{d} & what passed, they would accquaint His Excellency with it by & by.

That they had now nothing more to say than to beg that His Excell^{cy} would interceed with her Majesty that Goods might be cheaper & Bever dearer for the Traders gave so little for Bever that it was scarce worth their while to go out a hunting for it.

When the Gov^{r} went into his Lodgings from the Conferrence some Indians Sachems came to him & told him the Message the French Gov^{r} had sent to them (w^{ch} was the same reported by the Interpreter above) that they had answered by desiring the Gov^{r} of Canada to be quiet, but did not say anything whether they would or would not hold themselves Neuter if the Gov^{r} of New York demanded their assistance against the French.

The Gov^{r} directed the Commiss^{rs} of Indian affairs to send for the Sachems of the 5 Nations & to accquaint them that the French & their Indians were daily murdering the Bretheren of New England & to know if they could think (p. 76) of any Expedient to prevent it. They answered that the French treated them in the same Manner, & kept by their Management the Farr Indians in perpetual War against them: that they had often complaind of this to the Gov^{r} of Canada but without redress, that they had sent a Solemn Embassy to him to desire that he would interpose & get a Cessation for them from the Western or Farr Indians, but he answered he could not without orders from the King his Master.[1]

Albany 22^{d} Aug^{t} 1710.

The Mohawk Sachems of the Three Tribes wait upon Gov^{r} Hunter & accquaint him.

That they are informed the Queen hath sent over a considerable Number of People to settle upon the Land called Schohere, & tho that Land as hath appeared to his Excell^{cy} doth belong to them yet as he desires it for Christian Settlements they do now

[1] This Conduct of the French in a great measure lays open their Political System with regard to the Indians to those who may peruse this abstract of Indian Negotiations.

surrender up & convey to the Queen her heirs & Successors forever all that Tract of Land called Skohere begining at the uppermost peice of Land w^ch^ lyes on Skohere River & so down both sides of the River till you come to the Path w^ch^ goes out to the Mohawks Castle [called] at Tiondoroge w^ch^ Path is called by the Natives Caniowarageinade w^ch^ is about 5 English Miles above the Falls, reserving to themselves only one Flat or Plain where the Indians now Plant near the Hill called Onisstachragarawe & Woodland suff^t^ for Fire Wood for the Indians.

We Pray that henceforth no Land may be bo^t^ in a Clandestine Manner from any Idle Drunken Indians, but let it be done in Public as this is with proper Deputies from each Tribe.

N.B. The Indians left Albany without signing the Deed for the above Land, but Messengers were sent after them to get it signed but whether they did or no is not recorded. The Mohawks afterwards refused the Presents w^ch^ Gov^r^ Hunter left for s^d^ Land as not being suff^t^ The Commiss^rs^ s^d^ they would write the Gov^r^ about it — but I find nothing further of the Matter recorded — I suppose according to our System of Politics they were Cheated.

11 June 1711. Gov^r^ Hunter had a further Conference with the Mohawks ab^t^ this Land, wherein he asserts they had signed the Deed & reproaches them for re-assuming their Gift. 29 Sep^r^ they say there had been underhand Dealings, but however they consent to give up the Land

(P. 77.) 29 Sep^r^ 1710. The Commiss^rs^ receive Information that a French Smith was seen going from Canada to the Sennecas Country in Company with Two of that Nation & that the Sennecas had promised to protect him against the English.

14 Octo^r^ W^m^ Printop a Smith is sent to the Oneidas who earnestly requested one they being about to rebuild their Castle. But as this Printop was lately married the Commiss^rs^ write to the Gov^r^ that they had much ado to prevail on him to go, & that they were of opinion it would be better for the Gov^t^ to hire one at New York.[1]

[1] How often & how earnestly the 5 Nations requested Smiths to be sent into their Countrys these abstracts sufficiently show, this Occurs in almost every Page

15 Octo^{r} the Indians sent by Gov^{r} Hunter with a Belt of Wampum to the Caynawaga Indians in Canada to desire them to lay down the Hatchet against the Bretheren of New Eng^{d} return & accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that they had executed the Message & the s^{d} Indians had promised they would no more join in any Excursions upon New Eng^{d} & as a Sanction of their Sincerity had sent a Belt of Wampum.

11 Dec^{r} Laurence Claasse the Interpreter is sent among the 5 Nations to watch the Motions of the French & their Agents & to support the Interests & Influence of this Gov^{t} against the French Intrigues.

24 Jan^{ry} 1710/11. a Deputation from the 5 Nations to the Commiss^{rs} at Albany that they had sent some chosen Men to the Caynawagas at Canada to endeavour to prevail on those Indians to return to their Native Country to live.

That the Wagenhaes had at several Times murdered sundry of their People & offered them repeated Insults & as they are in the French Interest tis not to be doubted but the French have instigated them thereto. the 5 Nations are therefore detirmined to take Revenge & are going out to War against them.

(N.B. These Wagenhaes I cannot believe to be the same Indians with whom so solemn a Peace & Coven^{t} was made in last June, I rather take Wagenhaes to be a general Name for Indians dwelling to the Westward of Lake Errie, but as it was so much the Interest of the French to break this Peace they may perhaps have effected it, but as the Indians are remarkably faithful to their Treaties, I am at a loss what to detirmine. . . .)

(P. 78.) They desire to have a Smith settled at Onondaga & that Ammunition may be given them.

26 Jan^{ry} 1710/11 The Commiss^{rs} Answered. that they were very well pleas^{d} that they had fallen upon measures to prevail on the Cacknawaga Indians to return & live in their Native Country. That they would not have them

of the Records. whether Smiths could not be got, or whether it was owing to neglect, I cant say, but I am persuaded the not supplying them has been a great Prejudice to the Interest of this Colony. One is frequently sent to Onondaga & Onieda but seldom stays long.

go out a fighting against the Wagenhaes, for as Port Royal was already [reduced] conquered by the Queen's Arms & a Fleet next Spring expected from Great Britain the Gov^{r} would not be pleased that they should be now engaging in a War of their Own & that when once Canada was destroyed the Wagenhaes would fall an easy prey to them.

That they could not get a Smith to go with them, but would write to the Gov^{r} about it, in the Meantime they might get their Axes mended in Oneida where there was a Smith.

1. March 1710/11. A Message from the Mohawks that all the Sachems of their Nation were to hold a general Meeting upon a Matter of great Importance & they desire M^{r} Hansen with the Interpreter [1] may be present at it in behalf of this Gov^{t}

4 April 1711. Laur^{ce} Claasse the Interpreter is sent amongst the Five Nations to dissuade them from going out to fight against the Wagenhaes or far Indians & to tell them that tis the French Policy to provoke them to War in order to destroy & weaken them so that at last they may put a total End to them.

21 April. Advice is sent to the Commiss^{rs} from the Mohawks that a French Interpreter with an Officer & 30 Men are arrived at Onondaga & they desire that Col Peter Schuyler may be imediately dispatched to Onondaga to see what the French have to say & overlook their Managment.
Col Schuyler declines going till he receives the Gov^{rs} orders.

30 April He receives a Letter from the Gov^{r} that the Council are of Opinion he should go.

4 May The Commiss^{rs} receive a letter from Col Schuyler dated from one of the Mohawk Castles, he accquaints them that Mons^{r} Longeville & the French in Company with him, are sawing Boards &^{c} to build a House at Onondaga & that the Indians of that Castle have granted him a Lot of Land in the Center of their Settlem^{t}

[1] No further Acc^{t} of this Meeting appears from the Records.

(P. 79.) The same day the Commiss^rs write Gov^r Hunter an Acc^t of the aforesaid News, & say that it is of the utmost Importance to the Welfare of this Colony to prevent the French from making any Settlement at Onondaga, and that if effectual Methods be not taken to prevent the French Designs *it* they will prove very Dangerous to all the British Settlements on the Continent.

Albany 7 May 1711. Laurence Claasse returns from Onondaga & says that he heard Mons^r Longeville speak to the Indians, That he put them in Mind that they had been last year with the Gov^r of Canada & assured him they would live in Peace & Unity with him, & hoped they would keep their Promise inviolable.

Forewarns them not to take the Hatchet from the Gov^r of New York to war against the French, and threatens them with the fatal Consequences if they do. —

Admonishes their Young Men to be obedient to the Old Sachems. Calls upon the Squaws or Women to give good Advice to their Young Men & Husbands.

Desires that Two Sachems of each Nation may go to Canada with him to be present at a great Meeting between the Gov^r & all his Indians.

Laurence Claasse s^d that Mons^r Longeville had made a Present of near £600 — in value mostly in Amunition. That he had built at Onondaga a Block House ab^t 30 foot Long with Loop holes & that his Son was to take the Command of it with some French Soldiers.

Extract from Col. Peter Schuylers Journal of his Journey to Onondaga given to the Commiss^rs some time in May.[1]

The 7 May in the Evening arrived at Onondaga where the Sachems friendly received us.

8 May. The Sachems of the 5 Nations met in Council & sent for Col Schuyler & the other Gent^n who went with him & when they came they [made the following Speech] spoke to them in purport as follows.

[1] Mons^r Longeville with the French when they heard that Col Schuyler was on his way to Onondaga left that Place & went to the Lake where his Cannoes were leaving word if Col Schuyler wanted to speak to him he would wait there for him.

(P. 80.) That a Nation of Indians called Minquasse [1] amongst whom some of their Indians had lately been had informed them that the Gov^r of New York & the Gov^r of Canada had entered into a mutual Agreement to destroy the 5 Nations & to settle their Lands because Land is very scarce in Europe. And that they were the more inclined to believe this Report because French men were permitted to pass unmolested last Winter thro Albany & were now suffered to build a Fort in their Settlement. And that to this End the Gov^r of New York was to invite the Sachems of the 5 Nations to Albany & there kill them & divide their Lands with the French. That they had accquainted Mons^r Longeville with this Matter, who assured them the French would not join in such a Scheme, but that the English would do it, w^ch they were the more inclined to believe because Powder was kept up so dear. That a Cachnawaga Sachem at y^t time present was told this peice of News by an Eng Prisoner taken from New England.

They then proceeded to accquaint Co^l Schuyler what Mons^r Longeville had said to them — (in substance as follows)

That he was come to speak to them in behalf of all the other Nations of Indians in the French Alliance; that all past Evil on each side should now be forgot & forgiven, and that they should now renew the Covenant between them & not listen to any Evil Insinuations to the contrary from the Gov^r of New York. —

he then proceeded to tell them, that the Gov^r of New York had no other regard for them but on account of their Bever, that he hearkend to none of their Requests. he warned them from taking the Hatchet from the Gov^r of New York against the French, to remain Neuter & let the French & English decide their Quarrells with One Another. Threatened them if they did not listen to this Advice it would end in their own Destruction. Called upon the Young Men to be governed by the Advice of the Old & the Women to dissuade their Husbands & Sons from

[1] The tribe known as the Minquas by the Dutch or Andastes by the French, related to the Iroquois, occupied parts of the Susquehanna and Delaware valleys. — Ed.

engaging against the French, & uttered many Denunciations against them if they did.[1]

The Sachems then told Co[l] Schuyler they would repeat to him what Answer they had given to Mons[r] Longeville w[ch] in Substance was thus.

You seem to take part with us on the Supposition that we are treated uncivilly by the Gov[r] of New York, w[ch] he doth not (p. 81) but we have been several times ill used by your Gov[r] You have made War several times upon us of y[r] own Accord, but such a thing hath never happened between us & the Gov[r] of New York & we hope never will, but we have always lived in Love & Friendship together. Our young Men are generally obed[t] to us & observe our Advice, altho the Wagenhaes have Twelve times fallen upon us & killed several of our People (we suppose thro y[r] means & for the sake of the Bevers) w[ch] we cannot so easily forget; And we are Apprehensive you have some Evil Designs by sending for the Wagenhaes to come to Canada, for we know you are Deceitful & not to be trusted. You desire us not to accept of the Hatchet from Corlaer if offered to us. We desire you to take the Hatchet from y[r] Indians & let Christians fight against Christians only. Otherwise you cannot expect we shall sit Quiet whilst you send out y[r] Indians whom you must pay well [2]

The 9[th] Col Schuyler desired a meeting of the Sachems of the 5 Nations w[ch] being granted he spoke to them as follows.

Bretheren upon the 7 hands of Wampum w[ch] you sent desiring I might come here his Excell[cy] the Gov[r] directed me to

[1] It is evident the Scheme the French had in View by this Embassy of Mons[r] Longeville & his harrangue was to prevail on the 5 Nations to stand Neuter, when the French with their Indians would have overun the Country & scalped & taken Prisoners at will. To this End they had bribed several of the Sachems (who are Bribe equable) & stirred up a War against the 5 Nations from the remote Indians. And from several of the foregoing Extracts it appears the Indians had played disingenuously with this Gov[t] These affairs were carried on with great Skill by the French.

[2] I am doubtful whether they realy spoke to Mons[r] Longeville after this manner; (for I do not think Sincerity the Virtue of the 5 Nations at this time & at present I am confident they are the reverse, as they constantly Treat & receive presents from each & say what they think will please without any regard to Truth) I believe Mons[r] Longeville had only a Party of the Sachems in his Interest so that their Answer might not have been wholly favorable to his purpose.

repair hither & to thank you for the notice given to this Governm^{t} of the Arrival of the French in y^{r} Castles & the Gov^{r} expects from y^{r} Allegiance to her Majesty & y^{r} former promises that you will not permit any armed Men, Priests or Emissarys from the French to come amongst you. he also expects you will have no private Consultations with any of those French who were lately amongst you. And if any Attempt be made upon you from Cannada his Excell^{y} assures you. of all the possible assistance this Gov^{t} can give you.

The news you mention to have heard from the Minquasse is altogether False & not worth making any Answer to. As to Mons^{r} Longevilles harrangue you have sufficiently answered him, I will therefore say no more about it. But Bretheren what is the meaning that the French who have ever been injurious to you have not only Liberty to come into y^{r} Castles but to build a Fort even in the midst of you. What blindness! where are y^{r} thoughts that you dont see or reflect on the fatal Consequences of what they have been doing! I am resolved not to part from hence before it be broke quite down & destroyed. Bretheren I have bro^{t} with me her Majestys Coat of Arms w^{ch} I desire you set up here as a token that the French have no Jurisdiction in your Country the same I have here (p. 82) also to be sent to the Cayouge & the Sennecas Country (as he passed thro the Mohawks & Oneidas Country he had left one at each of their Castles) [1]

Co^{l} Schuyler says he was informed that Mons^{r} Longeville had given the care of the Fort he had built into the care of a Sachem who was absent ab^{t} 16 Miles off, he was at the Expense to send for him, he prevailed upon him to give his consent for demolishing this Fort & Block House & got the rest to concur but not without promising them suitable rewards for their Compliance. 10th May. the Sachems came to his Lodgings & told him they had forgot to mention that Mons^{r} Longeville s^{d} to them that if they would not consent to a Neutrality they had other Nations

[1] This Co^{l} Schuyler was a Man of great Interest amongst the Indians had fought with them & was a Brave Man & if this Speech was his own, a Man of good Sense. lived at Albany. rara Avis!

besides the Wagenhaes to make War upon them, to w^ch^ the 5 Nations say they replyed they also had more Nations in League with them & that they despised such threatenings nor should they ever induce them to break their Alegiance with the Queen of Great Britain & her Governments in America.

They further told him that they had determined to leave it to his Choice to demolish or not the Block House, but if he detirmined to do it they would send Mons^r^ Longeville who was but 12 Miles off an Account of it.

he replyed to them they might if they pleased send him word he was pulling it down & accordingly he imediately ordered those who were with him to demolish it w^ch^ was quickly done.

11 May The Sachems Addressed themselves to Co^l^ Schuyler after y^s^ manner.

As we are now re-convinced & have complied with all your desires so we hope you'l comply with ours.

First [1] we find the price of y^r^ Merchandize so exceedingly dear especially Pouder without w^ch^ we cannot exist & as our Bevers get you a great deal of Money we desire Pouder above all things may be Cheaper. Next we desire as it is in y^r^ Power that the sale of Strong Liquors may be prohibited.

We have always assisted you against the French & done good Service, but when we have been Attacked we have had little or no assistance from you.

(P. 83.) You desire us to dissuade our Soldiers from going out to fight the far Nations & you have destroyed the Fort w^ch^ was just now built, but if Pouder & Lead keeps so dear with you how shall we defend ourselves if Attacked, with Bows & Arrows we cannot. Let us not want Pouder & Lead.

I told them I would give his Excell^cy^ an Acc^t^ of all they has said and that they must be careful for the Future not to Admit any French into their Castles much less to let them erect any Buildings

[1] these Complaints had contributed to Aleniate the Minds of the 5 Nations from this Gov^t^ & assisted the French in pushing this bold Stroke, which seems to me one of the most dangerous & best concerted that I have met with, had it succeeded it would probably have bro^t^ on a revolt of most of the 5 Nations from y^e^ English.

The Block House Mons^{r} Longeville had built was 24½ foot long & 18½ foot broad covered with Boards & nailed, there was wood ready cut & prepared for a Chapel w^{ch} he also destroyed.

Thus ended this remarkable & important Embassy very much to the honour of Col. Schuyler & highly to the Advantage & Security of this Colony & probably of all his Majesties Dominions on the Continent.

20 May 1711. Came to Albany 6 Farr Indians from the Country about Tuchsakrondie, and say they are come upon the Faith of the Belt of Wampum w^{ch} was given them 2 years ago, that they are mindful of their engagments & shall never forget them. They were Answered, that the Gov^{r} should be accquainted with this Visit who would be well pleased to hear of it as he wanted to have all their Nations in the same Cov^{t} with him as the 5 Nations, & that he did his Endeavour that the 5 Nations should have no difference with the Far Nations & hoped they would contribute to bring all about them into the Covenant Chain.

2 June. The Commiss^{rs} make a Representation to Gov^{r} Hunter that the Public Monies in their hands has been long expended, that they want to be furnished either with Money or proper Goods to make those necess^{ry} presents w^{ch} are requisite to secure the attachment of the Indians who are daily receiving them from the French & by that means are Subject to their Influence. That a Garrison is necessary at Onondaga w^{ch} has been often promised to the Indians who make many Severe Reflections upon the neglect of it. That should a French get a Fort there it would not only ruin Albany but probably be of the most fatal Consequence to this & the adjacent Colonies. That they advanced last year to the public near £200 — w^{ch} the Assembly hath not provided for.

10 June. Gov^{r} Hunter meets the 5 Nations at Albany who Speak to him to the following Purpose.

(P. 84.) They say the French have been with them & desired from them a Neutrality w^{ch} they have promised, and the French further proposed that Christians should fight

against Christians. They now desire that no war may be carried on between us & the French because the Indians must necessarily lose many of their People by it.

That the Queens Arms were bro^{t} up & given them to hang in their Castles, but say they know Arms will not defend us, the Enemy will not be affraid of them, what we want is Pouder to defend ourselves ag^{t} the common Enemy.

That they have constantly requested of every Gov^{r} that Goods might be sold cheaper w^{ch} hath never been complied with, they now renew their Request w^{ch} if not granted will render them as poor as Dogs. That the Public Presents given them are but Trifling when divided amongst them. If he will let Goods be sold cheaper, their old & young Men will wholly devote themselves to her Majesty.

They repeat this Request again & again & say unless Goods particularly Pouder be sold Cheaper they must disperse themselves & that the Sachems can no longer keep up their Authority over the young Men. They conjure the Gov^{r} in the most moving Terms to listen to & grant their Request.[1]

They add there are no French now among the 5 Nations & with that Assurance conclude their Speech.

Gov^{r} Hunter answered them in purport as follows —

That he understood their meeting him at this time implied their being joined to this Gov^{t} in one Interest & one Cov^{t} Chain, that they would keep true & faithful to the same & upon all occasions run the same Fate with us & Obey all such Orders as they should receive from him by the Great Queens Commands.

[1] From the known Character of the Traders at Albany there is too much reason to suspect they extorted an unreasonable Price from the Poor Ignorant Indians at this time, & preferred the Emolument of their private Fortunes by oppression & Injustice to the Vital Interest of their Country. And tho at present by the increase of Traders & the dear bo^{t} Experience of the Indians they are become more capable of dealing with these Christian Jews, yet the Indians Trade is highly worthy the Attention of the Legislature here & in default of that of some Interposition of the Gov^{t} at home. No Body of People in the world act more strictly up to the Motto Bonus Odor Lucri ex re Qualibet, than the Albanians.

That Whilst the French were solliciting them to a Neutrality & proposing that none but Christians should fight against Christ^ns^ their Perfidy was Evident by their sending for all the Far Nations of Indians to engage them to their assistance & that this was well known to the 5 Nations, he therefore desired they would stay at home & not engage in needless Warrs.

That the Queens Arms are a Sign of her Sovereignty w^ch^ he hopes they will be (p. 85) always ready to defend against any who shall attempt to invade it & to enable them so to do he has granted their Request & ordered to each Nation a good Quantity of Pouder & Lead.

That he is sorry their Furrs bear so low a price the War is the Occasion of the falling of the price of all such Goods.[1] As to what they may have occasion to purchase from the People here effectual care shall be taken for the future that none of them shall be Cheated or overcharged, so that whoever thinks himself hardly dealt with by the Traders, has nothing to do but to apply himself to the Commiss^rs^ [2] who have orders to see Justice done them & to punish the offenders, and to prevent all such abuses for the Future. He desire they may always incamp upon the Hill or in some Common Place near the Town, untill such time as conveniencys be built for them, from whence they can go from House to House in the Town & sell their Goods to the best Bidder without lying under the Tyranny of their Landlords who says he *as I have heard have used them ill.*[3]

After the public Conferrence was Ended some Sachems of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayougas & the Sennekas waited on

[1] I suppose the Traders might have given this Reason to Gov^r^ Hunter but it is a False & unmerchantile one, for a War raises the price of Furrs & all Exports & imports in this part of the World.

[2] Most of whom if not all have been ever Traders & generally make use of their Employment as a more ready means to cheat the Indians.

[3] It is to this day customary as I have been informed by Gent^n^ of undoubted Varacity, that when the Indians have received the public Presents the Traders at Albany get them into their Houses buy their Shares at half price or less & then in succeeding course of the year sell 'em to them again at an exorbitant Price, nay I have been told of some so abominably Impudent as to sel the same Goods to the same Indians at an Advanced Price a day or two after.

Gov^{r} Hunter privately & told him that tho they had told the French agents they would keep Neuter, yet they did this out of Fear, not with Sincerity or Inclination, that the French always dissemble with them & they therefore returnd them the same Conduct, but now assured him they should follow his orders & keep the Coven^{t} Chain inviolable with this Gov^{t} with whom they never had any war but with the French several.

The Gov^{r} told them he took this Declaration as being their unfeigned Sentiments & expected they would accquaint him with all the Negotiations of the French whenever they put any on Foot.

(P. 86.) Albany 13 June 1711. News arrives that Co^{l} Nicholson was arrived at Boston from Great Britain & had desired Gov^{r} Hunter & Co^{l} Schuyler to meet him at New London. [Upon w^{ch} a Post was dispatched to the 5 Nations with the News & to desire] w^{ch} news was communicated to the Sachems who remained in Town & they were desired to influence their Young Men [might] to stay at home & not go out a fighting against the Far Nations. The 15th Directions arrived from Gov^{r} Hunter that Two Sachems of each Nation might remain awhile in Town & be subsisted at the public Expence.

19 July 1711. Some of the Mohawks are dispatched with a Belt of Wampum to the Susquahannah, the New Jersey & the Minnesink Indians to desire them to come here & join her Majestys Forces in an Expedition against Canada.

24 July. Some Tuchsagrondie come down to Albany to Trade but desire as they are young Men not experienced in Buisness that the Commiss^{rs} will not talk to them on publick Affairs. They complain that the People of Schanectady imposed on them in the price of their Waggons. Desire they may have goods as cheap as the 5 Nations as we are all joined in one Covenant. —

They are made welcome, & the Commiss^{rs} tell them they perceive they are affraid we should want them to join in the War, but that we have Men

enough & only desire them to stand Neuter. that they shall have goods as cheap as the 5 Nations —

30 July. Mess[rs] Schuyler who were sent thro the 5 Nations to engage them to take up the Hatchet & engage in the Exped[n] against Canada return & say all the 5 Nations had joyfully accepted the same & were ready to join us.

Albany 17. & 18 Aug[t] the Shachtakook Indians & the River Indians meet Gov[r] Hunter & Gen[l] Nicholson & engage to join their Forces to ours on the Expedition

20 Aug[t] 1711 The Number of Fighting Men of the several Nations of Indians in Alegiance to the Queen of Great Britain who came to Albany to march on the Expedition against Canada —

From the Mannor of Livingston & the adjacent Country —	19. —	
From the High Land & circa	21.	
Schagtakook Indians	38..	
River Indians	54.	132

of the 5 Nations viz.

Sennekas	182.	
Cayouges	127.	
Onondagas.....	99.	
Oneidas	93.	682.
Mohawks	155.	
Shawanoes who are Tributary to the Sennekas	26.	total. — 814 Indians —

(P. 87.) Albany 26 Aug[t] 1711. Two Praying or Christian or rather Prosylites made by the Jesuits fled from Canada & came to Albany & were examined upon sundry Questions by order of Gov[r] Hunter, among other Ans[rs] I have judged convenient to note the following —

That the Jurisdiction of Montreal extends as far as Trois Rivieres & that they were informed the French in that District amounted to 5500-Men but they never told them. —

That the Number of the Proselite Indians in Canada (these are Deserters from the 5 Nat^{s}) of both Castles amount to ab^{t} 200 Men. —

They were asked how many other Indians lived in Canada besides the Praying Indians.

They answ^{d} They answered there are the Adirondax, the Owanagonques, & Skachswanaes who live hard by S^{t} Laurence River, that they did not know their whole Number, but that the Owanagonques were pretty many the other 2 Nat^{s} but few in Number.

The Army with the Indians marched as far as the Wood Creek [1] where they received Advice of the Destruction of our Fleet in the River S^{t} Laurence. they returned to Albany the 8 Sep^{r} 1711. — That day the Sachems of the 5 Nations made a Speech to Gen^{l} Nicholson the Gov^{r} of Connectecut & the Commiss^{rs} among other things they say.

Bretheren we have now tried twice with you to go to Canada in order to reduce it to her Majesties Obedience, We are therefore now so ashamed that we must cover our Faces. Bretheren It is a barbarous thing that the Traders are so Extravagant with their Goods &^{c} &^{c}

After this Fruitless Armament against Canada, The French made an Advantage of it & strengthened their Influence over the 5 Nations from our Disappointment, they propagated a great Number of Falshoods prejudicial to the English Interest amongst them & w^{ch} was received by the Credulity of the Indians. They told them among other things that the Queens Arms w^{ch} had been given them to put up in their Castles was intended to fix a Claim to their Lands, that the Dearness of Pouder at Albany was intended to keep them so bare of Amunition as might facilitate the Designs the English had of destroying them. These Base Artifices of the French took Effect; the Indians grew Suspicious, sent the Queens Arms out of their Country & the whole 5 Nations at length took the Alarm against this Gov^{t} So that the 14

[1] This was a small stream flowing into Lake Champlain on the regular carrying route to Canada. It must be distinguished from the stream of the same name on the route to Oswego. — Ed.

June 1712 Canassore chief Sachem of the Onondagas came down to Albany & told the Commiss^rs he was come to throw his Life into their hands, they asked him what was the Matter, he said he was met by a Mohawk Indian who was sent by that Nation with Seven hands of Wampum [1] (p. 88) to all the confederate Nations to accquaint them that the English had killed several Indians, that the Mohocks were making Bullets & getting their Warriors ready in order to go & cut off the Christians & to desire the 4 other Nations imediately to recall all their young Men from hunting & to march down & join them in their intended Attempt — Cannassore said that hereupon the other Indians who were in Company with him returned, but however he was detirmined at all risks to come & enquire into this Matter. Several Mohock Sachems who happened at that time to be at Albany were present during this Relation of Canassore's. These the Commiss^rs severely reproached with their inhuman Intentions, their Infidelity & Baseness in Attempting to break a sacred Covenant w^ch had so long & so harmoniously subsisted between this Gov^t & the 5 Nations. After a long debate the Mohock Sachems said they were sorry for what had been done, that they would heal up the Breach & contradict all the Messages w^ch had been sent from their Nation.[2] —

The Gov^r & Council agreed that a proper Person & y^t Co^l Peter Schuyler was such should be sent to Onondaga to endeavour to undeceive the Indians in these base & groundless reports w^ch the French had propagated amongst them, to explain matters to them to Quiet their Minds & solemnly to renew the Covenant Chain with them in behalf of this Governm^t &^c — And to this purpose the Assembly voted £100 — Fifty of it to be laid out in presents to the Indians & the other Fifty for Expence of Co^l Schuylers Journey & his Attendants. —

[1] Seven Strings of Wampum is a Solemn Sanction among the Indians to any News or Message w^ch they bring. —

[2] I find previous to this Affair the Commiss^rs had wrote several letters complaining to Gov^r Hunter of the Assemblys making no or not necessary Provisions for carrying on our Influence with the Indians & that they found themselves incapable of serving the public for want of money — that the French spared neither Artifices nor money to debauch the Indians from us, & that they were rendered incapable of counteracting them, by the inattention of the Assembly.

4 July 1712 — The Commiss[rs] receive advice from the Indians that Intelligence had been given by some Canada Praying Indians who were met by some Onondaga Indians who were out ahunting, that the Gov[r] of Canada intended in Sep[r] to come & destroy the 5 Nations & had for that purpose sent to all his far Indians, but this being only a Report no Strings of Wampum were sent.

Albany 19 July 1712.

Col[l] Schuyler being returned from Onondaga produced to the Commiss[rs] a Journal of his Proceedings w[ch] in Substance was a follows.

(P. 89.) The 3[d] July he arrived at Onondaga when the Sachems who were there (the Cayouge & Senneka Sachems were not then arrived) imediately convened in Council & welcomed the Co[l] in a very friendly Speech, to w[ch] he returned a suitable Answer.

The 7[th] The Sachems of the 5 Nations being met sent Co[l] Schuyler word they were now ready to hear what he had to say to them. He addressed them agreably to the Gov[rs] Instructions. viz. that he cannot beleive the notorious Falshoods w[ch] the French have spread amongst them of a Design the English have to cut them off will gain such Credit with them as to destroy their Affection for & break Attachment to this Gov[t] That on the contrary he has repeated Orders from the Queen of Great Britain to keep firm & inviolable the Covenants so Solemnly entered into & w[ch] have always been so strictly observed.

That the Queens Arms which had been given them were never intended as a Mark of Claim to their Lands of w[ch] her Majesty acknowledges them to be the sole & Rightful Proprieters. That he had observed with great Pleasure their late offers of Mediatorship to make Peace between the Inhabitants of Carolina & the Tuscarora Indians, that the French wanted to engage them in this War meerly that their fighting Men might be sent far away & they have an Opportunity of falling upon their defenceless Wives & Children in their Absence &[c]

That upon the whole he expects they will on this Occasion renew the Cov[t] Chain with him & continue in the same Joint

Interest as heretofore & that in Token of the Confidence he has in their Fidelity, he has ordered a Present of 5 Barrells of Gun Pouder for them w^ch^ is now at Albany to be delivered to their Deputies & that Co^l^ Schuyler has some other Presents along with him to give them.

Before the Sachems gave a direct Answer to this Speech they spoke to the following purpose.

That it is well known the original Foundation of their Alliance with the Christians were the Advantages they received by Trading with them.

That antiently they made use of [Stone Pots] Earthen Pots, Stone Knives & Hatchets & Bows & Arrows, that after they had purchased from the Christ^ns^ Good Arms they conquered their Enemies & rooted them out so that where they then inhabited is now become a Wilderness. Thus (say they) our first entering into a Coven^t^ with you was Chiefly grounded upon Trade. We then bo^t^ for a Bever a Stroud Water Blanket or Two Duffel Blankets, but since these have always been growing dearer & dearer the Pouder we now buy for a Bever is scarce worth naming.

We have addressed the Queen upon this Head but we suspect, [but we] it hath been kept from her knowledge for we assure ourselves she (p. 90) hath an Affection for us.

We have made various Attempts to get Goods sold us Cheaper and we have often told you that unless they were, we should become a defenceless People, fall a Prey to our Enemies & our Union be dissolved.

We now tell you this Affair may be the occasion of breaking that Chain of Peace & Friendship w^ch^ hath subsisted between us & you As the Links have lately seemed to be wearing way & you are now come to strengthen them & preserve the Chain from being broke w^ch^ we approve of & rejoice in, We hope as we have now told you the true & only Method to preserve this Chain inviolable between us namely to let us have goods Cheaper, that this Method will take Place by w^ch^ the Chain will be kept firm & we shall live in Peace forever.

Brother Corlaer (the Indians always speak to the Principal)

We have considered what you have said to us & shall observe Your Requests, when our fighting Men return home we shall propose to them what you desire viz for them to stay at home & guard their Wives & Children & let you know their Answer.

We are thankful to you for renewing the Cov^t^ Chain by the means of Quieder[1] or Co^l^ Schuyler & we promise to keep it inviolable on our parts & in token thereof we give a Belt of Wampum.

It is true we did offer our Endeavours to keep the Tuscarora Indians in Peace with Carolina, but then we proposed that some fit Persons should be sent from New York thither on the part of this Gov^t^ to this we received no Answer. It seemed strange that you took no Notice of our Proposal. It is an Affront when one writes to another & they return no Answer. however we have taken the Hatchet out of the hands of the Tuscarore Indians.

30 July 1712. A Deputation from the Mohawks to this Gov^t^ who accquaint the Commiss^rs^ they had a Belt of Wampum sent by the 4 Nations to them & us to invite the Mohawks & this Gov^t^ to join in a War against the French Indians & that everything was ready for them to March in a few days. the Mohawks are ready to join & [desire] say they should be glad if some young Men of Albany would go out with them. They say they should have communicated this affair sooner, but as French Indians from Canada are frequently at Albany they were affraid their Designs would be discovered to the Enemy.

The Commiss^rs^ Answer that they should accquaint the Gov^r^ with this Peice of News but cannot consent that any Albany People should go out with them.[2]

(P. 91.) Albany 20 May 1714.[3] The Commiss^rs^ received advice that there was very Speedily to be a general Meeting at

[1] Peter. — Ed.

[2] Against what Indians this war was intended the Records do not mention I suppose some of the far Indians

[3] From the last date in this Abstract in 1712. to this, there is little mentioned in the Records, & nothing worth Noting. Except, a Letter to Gov^r^ Hunter from the

Onondaga of the 5 Nations & all the Indians bordering upon New Jerseys, Pensilvania, Virginia & Maryland by Deputies w^ch^ was [kept] designed to be so Secret that if any Person divulged it they were to suffer Death. upon this Intelligence the Commiss^rs^ got into their Service Hendrik a Christian Sachem of the Mohawk Nation who promised to accquaint them with what passed at this Meeting.

22 June Hend^k^ reported to the Commiss^rs^ as follows. —

That in the above meeting of the 5 Nat^s^ & other Indians it had been agreed that some of their Sachems should go to the Gov^r^ of Canada with 10 Belts of Wampum & propose to him as follows.

That since he hath made repeated Attempts to destroy them & been disappointed that he would for the future let them live in Peace.

That whenever he wanted to speak with them he would either come himself or send his Messengers, and when they had anything to say to him they would come to him.

That they were detirmined to live in Peace & if the Gov^r^ of New York should desire them to take up the Hatchet against the French they would flatly refuse it, & they desire for the Future that the Gov^r^ of Canada will not let his Indians make war upon any of the Queens Subjects, but according to the Gov^r^ of Canada's former Proposals that the Indians on both sides may be kept Neuter.

That. We all desire you will sell Pouder Cheap by w^ch^ means you will have a great Trade come to you.

That We do propose a firm & lasting Treaty of Peace & Friendship with you & that it may be known to all Nations

That Openness & Sincerity may govern our mutual Corespondance, be you persuaded of our Friendship & Fidelity, let us pass freely to & from each others Country.

Hendrik adds that the Deputed Sachems have 2 Belts of

Commiss^rs^ who write that 3 Cayouge Sachems had been to demand the Deeds & writings of the Susquahannah Lands given to the Crown for this Gov^t^ the 2^d^ Aug^t^ 1684 as p Records. They say it was only a Deed of Trust & they will now sell it. The Commiss^rs^ submit to the Gov^r^ whither this Land belongs to this Gov^t^ &^c^ this Letter is dated in Sep^r^ 1713. but I find no Answer to it nor further Mention about this Affair. —

Wampum whereby they are empowered to ask anything of the Gov^{r} of Canada w^{ch} they shall judge proper in the name of the 5 Nat^{s} & their Allies, & that he supposes they will desire Priests to be fixt at Onondaga & in the Sennekas Country. And that as soon as the Sachems deputed for Canada are set out another Deputation will be sent to Albany. — (P. 92.) The Commiss^{rs} transmit this Acc^{t} to Gov^{r} Hunter & say they think the 5 Nations are inclined to the French Interest who have their Emissaries always amongst them & spare neither for Cost or trouble to gain them over & delude them from us w^{ch} they are affraid will in the End be of dangerous Consequence to this Gov^{t} —

Albany 20 June 1714. The Sachems of the 5 Nations come to Albany & accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that the Indians who live at the back of Maryland had sent a Belt of Wampum to them to let them know that the English of that Colony had a design to cut them off & to desire that the Path may be free & open between them & the 5 Nations. And the s^{d} Sachems say they are come on purpose to know if there be any Truth in this Intelligence from the Maryland Indians, and that they have also heard from some private People that there was a design in this Gov^{t} to cut off & disperse them, (the 5 Nat^{s}) & they desire also to know if there is any Truth in this report.

The Commiss^{rs} answered

That these Reports with regard to themselves were raised by Traiterous & Seditious People who wanted to raise Factions & disturbances among them in order to withdraw their Fidelity from her Majesty. That no ill designs against them were harboured by any of her Majestys Subjects. That as they had a free Liberty of buying Amunition at Albany & that People were daily settling in the Woods on Farms, they might thence perceive our Intentions were peacable & that we were determined to keep the Cov^{t} Chain firm & Inviolable.

That they would write to the Gov^{r} ab^{t} the report from Maryland who would write about it to the Gov^{r} there & they should have a satisfactory answer.

That the Commiss^{rs} had been informed a Deputation had been appointed at the late Gen^{r} Meeting at Onondaga to go to Canada & they desire the s^{d} Deputation may not go till the Gov^{r} has been here & spoke to them. This request the Sachems complied with & promised to send to morrow a Belt of Wampum to stop the s^{d} Deputation.

The begining of August Gov^{r} Hunter accquainted the Commiss^{rs} that he proposed meeting the 5 Nations at Albany the 15 of next Month in order to take the Hatchet out of their Hands & that some proper Persons should be sent thro the 5 Nations to desire them to come down punctualy at that Time — Laurence [a] Classe was sent upon this Errand with directions that when he was in the Sennekas Country he should enquire about a Settlement w^{ch} (p. 93) it was reported the French had made somewhere above their Country at a Pass where the farr Indians must come thro in order to come down to Albany.

Albany 20 Sep^{r} 1714 —

Gov^{r} Hunter Issues a Proclamation forbiding the Selling of Rum to any of the Indians during his Stay at Albany. —

The same day the Gov^{r} & the Sachems of the 5 Nations have a publick Conferrence. Dekanissore an Onondaga Sachem opened it with congratulating the Gov^{r} on their meeting together —

he next accquaints the Gov^{r} that 2 Belts of Wampum had been sent to the 5 Nations informing them that this Gov^{t} in consort with the rest of the British Colonies had formed a Design to cut off & destroy the 5 Nations — And that Pouder growing Dearer & Dearer tended to confirm the probability of such an Intention, had Pouder they say become Cheaper they should have been inclined to reject such Suspicions. however they say notwithstanding such reports they had ventured down & put their Lives into the Gov^{rs} hands. —

The Gov^{r} in answer told them these Evil reports were quite Groundless & that they would not believe them unless they thought him so foolish as to cut off his Right hand with his Left, & to convince them what confidence he had in them he

designed to make them a present of a considerable Quantity of Pouder & Lead & to do what lay in his Power to make the price of Pouder cheaper for the Future. that he had orders from the Queen his Mistress to cultivate a good Understanding with them & to protect & assist them whenever occasion required it. &c

They thanked him for this kind Speech & said as soon as the Conference was ended they would send Expresses thro the 5 Nations (who were at present in much Confusion) to quiet their Minds & put everything upon a harmonious Footing. —

The 23 Sepr The Govr spoke to the Sachems of the 5 Nations in Substance viz.

That he hoped what he sd to them Two days ago had quieted their Minds with regard to those False reports & that he must now desire to know who it was that brot those Two Belts of Wampum wch gave rise to those Falshoods into whose hands they were given & where they are now.[1] That he now renews the Covt with them in the Queens name.

(P. 94.) That he now accquaints them the Queen of Great Britain hath given Peace to all the World particularly to France & therefore he now takes the Hatchet out of their hands & desires they will live in Peace with all Men. —

The 25 Sepr The Sachems of the 5 Nations Speak to his Excellcy in Substance viz.

That all the Stories they have heard are now quite dispelled & they are thoroughly convinced of their Falsehood.

That they do renew the Covt Chain & promise it shall be kept inviolable on their Parts nor shall it be in the Power of Men or Devils to break it.

That they comply with his Excellcys Commands in burying the Hatchet against the French. but with regard to their war with the Flatheads of Carolina, they must consult their young Men over whom they will use their best Endeavours.

That they have carefully Attended to all the Govr has said & when they return they will emprint it on the Hearts & Understandings of their People.

[1] I find no Answer from the Indians recorded as to these Points nor any further Notice taken about them.

That as to the Information given the Gov^{r} that the French are come to live near the Sennekas Country, tis true there are some there but they are come to lodge as it were a night or two & that they will warn them to begone when they return home & that they must not for the future come to settle there on any Acc^{t}

That they will not only give the far nations a free Passage thro their Country but will incourage & assist them to come down to Albany.

That as to their having a Missionary in every one of their Castles, they observe the Christians at Albany go to Church of a Sunday in fine Cloaths, but that Goods are sold so dear to them that they cannot purchase Sunday Cloaths, but when Goods become so cheap that they can purchase suitable Cloaths they will then be glad to have a Missionary in every one of their Castles.

Brother Corlaer

We accquaint you that the Tuscarora Indians are come to Shelter themselves among the 5 Nations, they were of us & went from us long ago & are now returned & promise to live Peacably among us & since there is now Peace everywhere, We have received them, and do give a Belt of Wampum. We desire you to look upon the Tuscaroras that are come (p. 95) to live among us as our Children who shall obey your Commands & live Peacably & orderly.

A Sachem of the Sennekas desired that a Smith might be fitted out & settled in a little Village between Cayouge & their Country & that he should live with an old Sachem & never be troubled or Molested by any Body. —

The Gov^{r} answered that there was but one Smith at present to be had who was in the Mohocks Country but as soon as he could get another he should be posted as they desire, in the Meantime the Smith in the Mohocks Country should by turns be sent thro the 5 Nations. —

27 Sep^{r} The Mehinkander or River & Skachkook Indians [commonly called River Indians] make a Complaint to

Gov^r Hunter setting forth that whereas Gov^r Andros planted a Tree of Welfare for them [1] at Skachkook, some Indians having sold the Land on one side of the Creek to the Mayor & Corporation of Albany they wanted now to have it on both sides & to dispossess them of all their Land.

The Gov^r promised them the Mayor & Aldermen of Albany should alot to them & their Children as much Land as they could cultivate & Plant. he sent for the Mayor & Aldermen accordingly who promised they should have more than they could manure.

Albany 26 Feb^ry 1714/15. Dekanissore chief Sachem of Onondaga being come to Albany to talk with the Commiss^rs they accquaint him with the Death of the late Queen & give him a Belt of Wampum to inform the 5 Nations thereof & of his Majesties King George's Accession to the Throne & that they should enjoy all the Protection & favour from him w^ch they had under any of his Predecessors. —

27. Feb^ry The s^d Dekanissore with 3 Mohawk Sachems accquaint the Commiss^rs that the 5 Nations are come to a Resolution that some chosen Men of each Nation & some from the River Indians designed to go for England & they desire that a proper Ship may be provided for them (p. 96) and the necessary Accomodations appointed for their Voyage & they desire a Sloop may be appointed to carry them to New York to accquaint the Gov^r with this their Resolution.

The Commiss^rs Answer, They shall accquaint the Gov^r with this their Proposal by the first Sloop [2]

Albany 1 June 1715. Laurence Claasse the Interpreter informs the Commiss^rs that an Indian from Onondaga informed him that the Gov^r of Montreal had sent a Message to the

[1] By a Tree of Welfare the Indians mean an Acknowledgment of right of Property & free Possession. —

[2] I dont find any further Notice taken of this Affair or that the Indians repeat their Proposals.

5 Nations that he was coming with Great Presents of Pouder & Lead for them from the French King & intended to settle his Son among them to learn their Language.

That several far Indians were on their way to Albany with a great Quantity of Bever, but that the Onondaga Indians had killed some & taken others Prisoners so that the rest were fled. —

That several of the 5 Nations are going to join a party of French who are going out to fight against the far Indians.

That the Chief Sachem of the Sennekas sent word he is coming down to Albany to claim Gov^r^ Hunters promise of a Smith. upon this Information the Commiss^rs^ send a Copy of it to the Gov^r^ & say that unless these Practices & Intrigues of the French are prevented it will probably end in the ruin of this Country.

14 June. Laur. Claasse who was sent to Onondaga returns & confirms to the Commiss^rs^ the Acc^t^ of the Gov^r^ of Montreals' being expected at Onondaga with great presents from the King of France. And that several French Indians were dispersed thro the 5 Nations & had engaged several of them to go out a fighting against the Flat heads. And that the French Interpreters had engaged the Sennekas to go out a fighting against a Nation of Indians whom the French call Foxes & who had some years ago made an Alliance with this Gov^t^.

The Commiss^rs^ hereupon write the Gov^r^ that they judge it necessary for the Interest of this Colony that some Persons of Character & Influence be sent to the Indians & provided with presents to speak properly to them, and that they Endeavour to prevent the pernicious Designs of the French & fix the present wavering (p. 97) Dispositions of the Indians more firmly to the Interest & Directions of this Government.

The 28 June 1715. The Commiss^rs^ receive further confirmation that the Gov^r^ of Montreal was met in his way to Onondaga with great presents for the Indians, Two Interpreters

along with him & a Smith to be settled in the Sennekas Country, that the French were using their Endeavours & every Artifice in their Power to debauch the 5 Nations Fidelity from this Gov^{t} & had prevailed on sever^{l} of the Indians to come & live in Canada. The Commiss^{rs} say of the French are they suffered to send Embassadors & make publick presents to the Indians in their Country & to settle Smiths among them it will be certain Means to destroy that superior Influence w^{ch} we have so long held over the 5 Nations &^{c} that they hope as the assembly are now sitting they will provide suff^{t} Funds for the support of the Indian Affairs. —

29 June Two Mohawk Sachems come to accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that Mons^{r} Longeville was at the Mouth of Onondaga River with 9 Canoes of People & that he had sent word to those Indians that he was come to build a Fort in their Country & that when he had finished it Co^{l} Schuyler should not come & demolish it as he had done before. The Mohawk Sachems say we are come to tell you this because you may now prevent it & we are sensible it will be of ill Consequence.

The Commiss^{rs} now transmit this Intelligence to the Gov^{r} & represent the fatal Consequences of suffering the French to build any Forts in the [Indian] 5 Nat^{s} Country. & say they have sent [a Messenger] Mohawk Sachems with a Belt of Wampum to Onondaga to desire those Indians not to suffer the French to build any Fort in their Country. The Commiss^{rs} complain that there is no Money provided for their paying Expresses & the other necessary charges relating to Indian Affairs.

5 July 1715. A Deputation from the Onondaga Indians to the Commiss^{rs} who say they have received Information particularly from the Gov^{r} of Canada that this Gov^{r} had a Design to cut them off & the said Gov^{r} told them the Gov^{r} of New York had wrote him word so. They desire the Commiss^{rs} will honestly tell them whether there be any Truth in this News. —

They say if they can prevent it the French shall not (p. 98) build any Fort on their Land, And that they are not without Suspicions that there are some Evil Designs intended by the French who keep a party of Men at the Carrying Place of Jagare[1] And that the Sennekas, Cayougas & Onondagas begin to murmur at the French keeping their Men encamped so near their Countrys

No Answer is recorded to the above Embassy of the Onondagas

30 June The Gov^r^ write the Commiss^rs^ that he intends to meet the 5 Nations at Albany the 20 Sep^r^ next if they think that a proper time the Commiss^rs^ answer they think it will be a good time & they dispatch the Interpreter thro the 5 Nations to accquaint them with the Gov^rs^ Intentions & to invite & desire their Attendance at Albany.

5 Aug^t^ Laurence Claasse Interpreter going upon the above Message to the 5 Nations was met by 5 Indians who were sent in the Name of the 5 Nations with 7 hands of Wampum to go down to New York to speak with the Gov^r^ They forced the Interpreter to return, And say their Sachems & fighting Men are coming down to treat with the Gov^r^ about their going out to fight against the Flat Heads. The aforesaid 5 Messengers would go down to New York. The Commiss^rs^ dispatched the Interpreter to endeavour to stop the Rest of the Indians from coming down till the time prefixed by his Excellency. —

Albany 24 Aug^t^ 1715. Gov^r^ Hunter meets the Deputies of the 5 Nations & Issues his Proclamation against selling Spirituous Liquors to them during his Residence there.

27 Aug^t^ — Dekanissore Cheif Sachem of Onondaga Speaks for the 5 Nations. he says.

Y^r^ Excell^cy^ renewed the Cov^t^ Chain with us last Summer w^ch^ was very acceptable to us all. you then demanded the Hatchet from us w^ch^ you had given into our hands against the French, w^ch^ Hatchet we now deliver you. It has been a very unfortunate one, we have had Two Canada Expeditions & they both proved abortive & unsuccessful — When

[1] Niagara. — Ed.

we have fought in our own way we have always been very (p. 99) Successful & have destroyed or reduced to our obedience many Nations of Indians and in this way we are always disposed to serve you & we expect you will now new steel our Hatchet (meaning give them some presents). —

Last year when you were here you desired us not to go out a fighting against the Flat heads, we are now come to a conclusion to obey y^r^ Commands.

We have often desired Goods might be sold cheaper w^ch^ has not been complied with, we still insist Goods may be sold at an easier Rate; and we desire y^r^ Excell^cy^ will be pleased to inform his Majesty hereof & that Bever & other Furrs may bear a better price.

The Gov^r^ replied that what they had said required some time to consider of & give an answer & that as the next day was Sunday he would speak to them on Monday. That he had appointed to meet them a Month hence, but they sent Deputies to him desiring a Meeting in 10 days from the day the Deputies delivered their Message, that he accordingly hurrid away & was here punctualy to that day & waited a whole week for their Appearance, however he hopes this Meeting will be concluded to their Mutual Satisfaction. And when he has answered what they have now said he will proceed to tell them what he wanted to meet them upon.

29 Aug^t^ DeKanissore informed his Excell^cy^ that the day before [Messengers] 3 Expresses had arrived from the Sennekas with an Acc^t^ that 11 days ago Messengers came there from a Tribe of the Dowagenhaes Indians called Wigsachroene who were sent by a [Tiber] Tribe who lived beyond them called Ronatewigsachroene [1] w^ch^ last named Indians had sent a Pipe of Peace for his Excell^cy^ & the 5 Nations to smoak together with them also a pair of Shoes w^ch^ were held up to public View & are to be returned into the Sennekas Country & there remain as a token of Peace &

[1] This was the farthest nation of the Dowagenhaes. — Ed.

Friendship till next Spring when the s^d^ Indians will personaly come & treat with His Excell^cy^ & the 5 Nations.

The s^d^ Indians say they have not been at Albany for a long while & desire they may be allowed to come here & Trade without any manner of Molestation. The Dowagenhaes Messengers also say they have a Pipe of Peace lying at Albany & desire the Friendship may be renewed & upon that Score they send 4 Bever Skins to his Excell^cy^ — The other Tribe also send a Present of 12 Bevers to be distributed between his Excell'y & the 5 Nats. —

His Excell^cy^ accepted the Proposals of the far Indians & promised them a Welcome &^c^ sent a Belt of Wampum to them as a token of Peace & Amity.

(P. 100.) 29 Aug^t^ His Excell^cy^ answered the Speech of the 5 Nats made to him the 27 Inst by DeKanissore & says in Substance viz. As to the late Expedition against Canada, the late Queens Plan & directions were very good, that his Conduct had been in all respects agreable to his Duty, & theirs such as he mentions with Gratitude & Esteem, he desires therefore the Disappointment may be buried in Oblivion & never more repeated unless it be to the Reproach of those who had the Managment of it by Sea, or to something worse w^ch^ defeated it.

Their offer of serving us in their own way of fighting he receives with Great Joy, & says this is the Hatchet of Neutral Defence & Security & woe be to those upon whom it falls. that he shall take care to Sharpen its edge.

he says it is true the last time he met them he did desire them to forbear fighting against the Flatheads because they were then in Alliance with his Majesties Subjects of Carolina & desired Peace. but since that time he is informed they had joined with some other Indians & in cold Blood fallen upon & Murthered several of the Inhabitants of Carolina. but on this head he would speak more largely by & by.[1]

[1] I suppose the Revolt of the Flat heads was owing to the Instigation & Artifices of the French & the 5 Nations readiness to lay down the Hatchet against them

he endeavours to explain to them the [reasons] Cause for the low price of Bever, & in order that they may have Goods at as low a price as the Christians can afford to sell them to one another, he will Issue orders to the Magistrates of Albany & the Commiss^{rs} that if any Indian Complains that he is imposed upon, they do summon the Parties before them & Examine into the Complaint, & if the Trader or Traders are guilty to have them prosecuted according to Law for Fraud & Extortion, & desires them to make this known to all the Indians. (N. B. I have been often at Albany & accquainted with the [cheif] People of the Place who are all (in some way or other) Indian Traders & I believe whenever they can, do & will impose on & cheat the Indians, & this Exped^{t} of Gov^{r} Hunters I doubt not he himself knew would be ineffectual & did it only to lull the Clamours of the Indians, for all of these Albanians are in their turns Delinquents. They are like the Jew Pedlars at Amsterdam who carry their little shop before them & live upon the Simplicity of Strangers.)

(P. 101.) Bretheren

In the Name of the most Potent & most Gracious King George I renew with you the Antient Cov^{t} Chain & again in the most Solemn Manner assure you of his Protection & favour w^{ch} I am well persuaded you will ever deserve.

He proceeds to accquaint them that [he apprehends] the Cause of the Flatheads falling upon the Inhabitants of Carolina is owing to the Gov^{r} of Carolina refusing to assist them when they waged war upon the 5 Nations who were Subjects of their Sovereign. That he therefore desires & Expects the 5 Nations will interpose in such a manner as may induce or force the Flat Heads to leave off all Hostilities against our Bretheren of Carolina & that this will redoun to the Glory of the 5 Nations & be very pleasing to our Great King Goorge. —

to the same Cause. from w^{ch} may be seen how industrious & Politic the French are with regard to the Indian Affairs & how extensive is their Influence.

the 31 Aug^{t} The Indians Answered the Gov^{rs} last Speech & said in Substance as follows.

That they acknowledged King George for their Sovereign Lord and did thereupon renew & confirm the Antient Covenant Chain w^{ch} they say shall by them be kept inviolable, & pray His Excell^{cy} not to hearken to any evil minded People who may strive to raise mutual Jealousies between them. They tell his Excell^{cy} that as to the Cause of the Flat Heads commiting Hostilities on the People of Carolina they have been informed quite otherwise than he represents it. that the case is thus. The People of Carolina applied to the Flat heads to assist them in fighting against the Tuscarora Indians promising that when they were reduced the Flat Heads should have Goods cheaper then formerly, whereupon the joined the English fought & dispersed the Tuscarora Indians & then claimed the promise made to them, but the English did not perform their promise & goods [was] were as dear as formerly giving but a handful of Pouder for a Bear Skin & other Goods in proportion.

They say We must own we have desired Goods from time to time might be sold Cheaper w^{ch} is the most material thing to us. —

As to their treating with the Flat Heads to lay down the Hatchet by fair means, they know it will be in vain, they are their Antient inveterate Enemies & would murder any Deputies (p. 102) They should send, And if the Gov^{r} would have them bring them to Terms by force he must give them a suff^{t} quantity of Amunition that they may fit out an Army & do it effectually.

They say they have nothing more at present to propose but put him in mind that he promised they should have a House built upon the Hill above Albany for them to lodge & put their Bever in when they came down so that they might not be exposed to the inveigling Tricks of the Albany Traders when they got them into their Houses. but they say to their great Grief they see no such House built for them —

The Gov^{r} Answers that he receives with inexpressable Joy their proposal of reducing the Flat Heads by Force & that he will supply them with a good Quantity of Amunition & continue it during their war with them.

That a House for their Reception shall be built on the Hill but that they must take care not to pull down & burn the Boards as they formerly did [1] —

Bretheren you will receive a Present of such Goods as will be Necessary for you & such as could be had in so short a warning as you gave me.[2]

3^{d} Octo^{r} 1715. The Commiss^{rs} receive a Message from the 5 Nations that they had according to the Gov^{rs} request sent an Embassy of 8 Men with great Presents to the Flat heads to desire them to cease from fighting against the English of Carolina.

6 Octo^{r} the Commiss^{rs} write to the Gov^{r} that according to his Order they had conferred with the principal Indian Traders about building Barracks for the Indians upon the Hill above Albany, that the Traders will not voluntarily contribute to the Building it, & that the best Method will be to get an Act of Assembly, to levy on the Traders suff^{t} for that purpose.

(P. 103.) Albany 25 October 1715. A French Cacknawaga Indian makes a complaint to the Commiss^{rs} that he was coming to Albany with a ꝑcell of Bever & in the way down the River he stoped & took them out of his Canoe, at w^{ch} time there was a Waggon belonging to Co^{l} John Schuyler whose Servents took his Bever against his Consent & carried it away to Albany but where it is lodged in Town

[1] There is at present no such House nor have I ever heard any such was built, it seems a reasonable request & would I believe in some measure tend to prevent the frauds committed on the Indians; but the Albany People will therefore prevent its taking Place —

(There are numerous references to this trading house in the New York Colonial Laws and the Albany local records. — Ed.)

[2] I seldom find any Lists of the Presents recorded, it ought to be & given in the Presence of the Indian Secretary, as Gov^{rs} have not escaped being justly censured for defrauding the Indians of their due, & cheating the Crown and the Colony.

he doth not know. The Commiss^rs hereupon enquired into the Matter & being informed where the Bever was lodged & that it was sent by this Indian from a French man in Canada to Maj^r Mynd^t Schuyler they ordered it to be deliv^d to the said Mynd^t Schuyler.

The 29 Octo^r the Commiss^rs write the Gov^r an Acc^t of this Affair & say that the Trade between Albany & Canada is of fatal Consequence to the Indian Interest of this Colony, that of our Indians who are employed in it many stay at Canada & others return so Attached to the French Interest & so Debauched from ours that it puzzells them how to preserve amongst them that Respect & Regard to this Gov^t so necessary to the Public Good & Tranquility.

2^d Dec^r 1715. Gov^r Hunter having drawn a Warrant in fav^r of the Commiss^rs of Indian Affairs on the Treasurer of the Colony for £300 — Two of them being at New York bo^t the following Goods to be distributed to the Indians as occasions might require

2 p^s of Strouds at £10.10 p ps.
1 p^s of Blanketting £10.
1 p^s of Duffels cont^g 42 yards at 5/6d.

19 Jan^ry 1715/16. The Commiss^rs receive a Deputation from the Oneida Indians complaining of the dearness of Goods & earnestly requesting they may be cheaper, they say on the price of Goods the Covenant [1] Chain chiefly depends & that unless Goods are cheaper it will cause their & our Ruin. that many far Indians would come constantly hither to Trade but when any of them have made the Experiment, they found themselves so Scandalously imposed on & Cheated by the Traders that it discouraged them from returning.

[1] This connexion is justly observed by the Indians, & I am persuaded that putting the Indian Trade under proper regulations is the only Method we have left to resist & otherthrow the French Influence among the Indians, in all other ways they are & will be our Superiors. This is a Fertile Subject & I may perhaps throw my reflections on it together in some other place.

(P. 104.) Albany 6 April 1716. A Senneka Indian who was sent last year to the Wagenhaes Indians to desire them not to join with the French who were going to fight against the Southward Indians called Rennaros but to come & Trade at Albany. Returns & says those Indians promised they would not join the French & would come & see if Goods were to be got cheaper at Albany than amongst the French.

30 April Six Traders at Albany apply to the Commiss^{rs} for Licence to go up & try to open a Trade at Irondequat on the South side of Cadaraqui or Ontario Lake about 32 Miles from the Chief Senneka Castle with the far Indians & endeavour to bring them to Trade at Albany.[1]

7. June. Some Indians from [2] Tuchsakrondie come to Albany to Trade & beg of the Commiss^{rs} that they may have Goods cheap, they say they are come a great way to try the Trade & if on their Return their Indians find we sell Goods cheap many more will come.

13 June. Another Deputation from the Oneidas complaining of the Dearness of Goods & reproaching the Commiss^{rs} with the falsness of their Promises & the ingratitude of this Gov^{t} to them who have ever been the most faithful Nation of Indians. They say you entertain us with Babble but you do nothing that is Good for us. A House was promised to be built on the Hill for us last year, but as yet there is none. You forbid us to Trade with the French & you yourselves at the same time are trading with them. — They say they have forfeited the Notice of the French by their Attachment to this Gov^{t} but yet they could easily regain it —

The Commiss^{rs} Answer to the Above that Goods are Cheaper than last year, that they have talked with the Traders who affirm they sell as Cheap as they can afford. That they hope a House on the

[1] The Fort & Trading House at Oswego is on the same side of the Lake but to the Eastward of Irondequat.

[2] The South [Easterly] Westerly parts of Lake Errie.

Hill will be erected for them in a short time — and renew the Cov^{t} Chain with them. —

(P. 105.) Albany 13 & 15 June 1716. The Commiss^{rs} write the Gov^{r} that Dekannissore Cheif Sachem of Onondaga [told] tells them that unless the Sale of Rum to the Indians be prohibited it will certainly occasion a Civil Warr amongst them. And the Commiss^{rs} are of Opinion that the late Act prohibiting the Sale of Rum in the City & County of Albany to the Indians be again renewed for 3 years & a Clause inserted that those who profess the Indian Trade be obliged to build Houses on the Hill for the Indians at their own Expence. —

The Commiss^{rs} further say that Two French Smiths are settled among the Sennekas & a Priest that Mons^{r} Longeville was gone to Onondaga & was to return home thro the Sennekas Country — And that they fear the French will by degrees delude all our Indians from us unless some proper Persons are posted among them in behalf of this Gov^{t} —

17 July the Six Traders who went from Albany to Irondequat the 30 April last in order to open there a Trade with the foreign Indians return & inform the Commiss^{rs} that as they passed thro the 5 Nations they gave each Seven hands of Wampum to secure a free Passage for the s^{d} farr Indians who might be inclined to pass thro their Settlements to Albany & that the 5 Nations consented thereto. —

That at Irondequat they found a Trading house with 5 French Traders & a Smith — That the Sennecas seemed strongly inclined to have a Smith from this Gov^{t}.

That the next day after their arrival at Irondequat some of the farr Indians arrived to whom they gave some Presents & accquainted them that the 5 Nations consented to give them a free Passage to Albany thro their Settlements. Upon w^{ch} they sent a Calumet or Pipe to be smoked thro the 5 Nations w^{ch} is among the Indians an inviolable Token of Peace & Friendship, They also mentioned Six other Nations who were inclined to carry on a Trade with this Gov^{t}

These Traders proposed to the Sennekas whither they might Trade at Irondequat & if they would build a Trading House for such as would come from Albany there, this the Sennekas approved of & said if a Trade was carried on at Irondequat they would build a House & desired the Traders to accquaint (p. 106) The Gov^r^ with this matter, that in the meanwhile they would consult among themselves & send down their Chief Sachem with their Resolutions.

20 July 1716. Assessors are Sworn agreable to an Act of Assembly for raising of money to build Sheds for the Indians upon the Hill above Albany

13 Aug^t^ Philip Livingston arrives at Albany from Montreal & informs the Commiss^rs^ that he heard from some French men that a Deputation from the Sennecas had been with the Gov^r^ of Canada to desire him to fix a Smith & a Priest in their Country & to build a Garrison & to post 30 Men therein to secure it & if he would sell them a Blanket for Two Elk Skins & a Gun for 3 — they would trade no more at Albany. —

The Commiss^rs^ transmit this Acc^t^ to the Gov^r^ & deliver it as their Opinion that unless some Soldiers under proper Officers are posted among the upper Nation of Indians we should be in danger of having the Indians debauched from us by the French & turned upon us as our Enemies. —

30 Aug^t^ the Commiss^rs^ write the Gov^r^ that some of the Palatines settled at Skoheere have applied to the Mohocks to defend them in the Possession of certain Lands there in defiance of the Gov^t^ & that one Johan Conraet Weyser & his Son are at the head of these Disturbers.[1]

14 Sep^r^ Several Sachems of the 5 Nations arrive at Albany & desire a Conferrence with the Commiss^rs^ w^ch^ being granted, they desire to know if the Gov^r^ intends to meet them this

[1] A number of papers relating to the history of the Palatines in New York are to be found in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, iii, pp. 539 *et seq.* (octavo edition). For the Weisers see Walton's *Life of Conrad Weiser*. — Ed.

year as it now grows late. The Commiss^{rs} s^{d} they had expected the Gov^{r} up, but that he had lost his Lady & was not well.

Dekanissore then s^{d} that there was a prohibition of Selling Rum & that before such prohibition had taken place every nation ought to have been accquainted with it by Seven hands of Wampum, as several had come down to buy Rum & been disappointed & he desires to know who has requested the prohibition of Rum —

(P. 107.) The Commiss^{rs} answer he himself had in the most earnest manner and that the whole 5 Nations had frequently recommended this Prohibition —

Dekanissore answered that he & they now desired the Prohibition might be now taken off — The Commiss^{rs} answer the Gov^{r} hath Issued the Prohibition & by his Authority only it can be taken off & that they will write him about it.

Albany 15 Sep^{r} 1716. The aforesaid Sachems have a further Conference with the [Sachem] Commiss^{rs} & they say that they have received certain Intelligence that the Wagenhaes intend to fall on them that the 5 Nations will not begin the war first but keep themselves in a state of Defence & they desire that Amunition may be given them & their Guns & Hatchets mended at the Public Expence.

They accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that the Sennekas are become a more numerous Nation than the rest[1] & are therefore divided into Two Parties so that for the future when any presents are given they must be divided into Six Shares. They are answered by the Commiss^{rs} that they will furnish them with some Pouder & Lead & that their Guns & Hatchets shall be mended. that they do well not to begin the war with the Wagenhaes for tis their Interest to live peaceably with all Men. At the same time Two Senneka Indians accquaint the Commiss^{rs} in

[1] By the Accession of the Tuscarores & other Indians inhabiting about the Branches of the Susquahanna River

the Name of their Nation that the Six Traders who went from Albany to Irondequat to Trade had desired to have a Trading House built there, w^{ch} their Nation are ready to grant & they hope it will be a means to have goods Cheap w^{ch} will draw the far Indians thither —

They hope the Commiss^{rs} will not be Jealous that they have a French Smith there, that they had applied to this Gov^{t} for one & could get none, that the Gov^{r} of Canada had sent them a Smith & it had never cost them so much as one p^{r} of Shoes. —

The Commiss^{rs} answered they would accquaint the Gov^{r} with what they had said & thanked them for their Message. —

(P. 108.) Albany 6 October 1716. Major Abraham Schuyler & Laur. Claasse the Interpreter are dispatched to Onondaga by the Gov^{rs} orders to accquaint the 5 Nations that the Death of the Gov^{rs} Lady & the Arms not being arrived from England w^{ch} were intended as part of the presents to them were the Occasion his Excell^{cy} could not meet them this year but they might depend on his meeting them the last Tuesday in next May.

They were also directed to enquire into the Deputation w^{ch} the 5 Nations sent to the Gov^{r} of Canada desiring a Priest a Smith & that he would build a Fort in their Country & Garison it & if there are any French settled at Irondequat & by whose Permission.

Major Schuyler & Laur. Classe make the following Report on their return from Onondaga.

That on their arrival at Onondaga they sent Summons' to the Sachems of the 5 Nations who accordingly came there & being convened sent for our Deputys who delivered their Message according to the Gov^{rs} Instructions —

The Sachems of the 5 Nations answered after the following Manner.

That they were sorry for the Gov^{rs} Loss of his Lady & accepted his Excell^{cys} Invitation of meeting them the last Tuesday in next May —

That as to the Deputation sent to the Gov^{r} of Canada no such thing had been done by the Consent of the Sachems of the 5 Nations but that the Sennekas had by themselves transacted that Affair & Dekanissore chief Sachem of Onondaga insisted that the Senneka Sachems should on their Return accquaint the rest of their Sachems with the desire of this Gov^{t} to be accquainted with this whole affair & send him a true Relation of it & he would make a Report thereof to the Gov^{r} when he came to Albany.

Albany 12 Dec^{r} 1716. It being thought highly necessary that some proper Persons with a Smith should be sent amongst the 5 Nations to keep them firm to their Allegience & to watch the Motions & defeat the Intrigues of the French: Five Persons are dispatched from Albany on this Plan in behalf of this Gov^{t} & to reside there until the p^{o} Octo^{r} next.

Instructions are given to these Persons conformable to the Above Design.

11 Jan^{ry} 1716/17. Tho^{s} Willdman [1] who was sent to Onandaga as a Spy upon the Motions of the French & to pay a Visit in the Name of this Gov^{t} to the Indians, returns & accquaints the Commiss^{rs} that Jean Coeur the French Interpreter had introduced a little Son of his to the Indians (p. 109) in the Sennekas Country & desired their Protection & favour for him & that after his Death this his Son might be received amongst them in the same friendly manner as he himself had ever been — upon w^{ch} he gave them a Belt of Wampum w^{ch} they readily accepted.

That the said Jean Coeur had a little Trading House in the Sennekas Country by the side of the Lake where he kept Goods & traded with them also a Smith to work for them.

Albany 21 Jan^{ry} 1716/17. Lieu^{t} Scot posted at Fort Hunter sends Intelligence to the Commiss^{rs} that Ambassadors have come from the Southward to the Sennekas & said he was

[1] an Indian.

sent by 50 Nat^{s} of Indians to accquaint them that they are in War with the English of Carolina to whom they have done great Damage & to forewarn the 5 Nations not to assist against them lest they might Kill some of their People w^{ch} they would not willingly do. And that 20 Sennekas were returned with these Ambassadors to the Southward.

The same day the Commiss^{rs} Transmit to the Gov^{r} the foregoing Two peices of Intelligence. They say they apprehend Jean Coeur is sent to reside ab^{t} the Sennekas Country by the Gov^{r} Gen^{l} of Canada to distribute Presents in order to debauch our Indians from us — and that by the Trading house w^{ch} he has built on the Passage where our Indians come when they return from Hunting he cuts off the Trade to Albany.

With regard to the Intelligence from Lieu^{t} Scot they are of Opinion that this Embassy from the South is the work of the French who are settled on the Missisippi. And it appears plainly that the French in Canada & those on the Mississippi are constantly endeavouring to stir up the Indians to commit Hostilities upon the English on all sides, & that unless proper Care be taken to secure our Indians by a continual Settlement amongst them from the delusions of the French their Artifices will be of Dangerous Consequence to all the British Settlements.

Albany 21 May 1717. Some Indians arrive at Albany from a French settlement called Wanajachtenock,[1] to Trade & say the would willingly trade with us but the French hinder them & wish (p. 110) this Gov^{t} would build a Fort near their Habitations & put Men into it to protect them from the French who oppose their Trading hither.

In a Letter bearing date the 27 March 1717 from the Commiss^{rs} to Gov^{r} Hunter they write. It is plain to us that the French have a continual Correspondance from Canada to Cadaraqui, from thence to Therondequat in the Sennekas Country from thence to Tuckrachrondie, thence to Ochjagare & so still behind Carolina, Virginia &^{c} so that we

[1] Detroit. — Ed.

are surrounded by them. They have also a Trading House at Therondequat the Passage of our Indians as they come from their Hunting w^ch^ is as we are informed against the Articles of Peace.

Albany 13 June 1717. Gov^r^ Hunter meets the Indians at Albany & has this day a private Conference with Two Sachems of each of the 5 Nations.

De Kanissore Speaks & says. That the French have built no fort at Irondequat belonging to the Sennekas, but that they have built a Trading House there & supply the 5 Nations & other Indians with Pouder & Lead to fight against their Enemies the Flat heads, & that thay are also furnished with other Goods w^ch^ prevents a great deal of Bever & Furrs coming [from] to (p. 111) Albany, but says Dekannissore, the French are supplied with all their Goods from the People here at Albany w^ch^ goes first to Canada & from thence up Montreal River & so to Irondequat where the French Trading house is built upon Ground belonging to the Sennekas, if you stop the Trade of Goods being carried hence to Canada that other Trade will fall of Course.[1] —

He says that an Englishman who lives at Canistoga on the Susquahannah River had said that the King of England & the Regent of France had agreed to cut off all the Indians of North America & to settle the Continent with their respective Subjects. but as this Acc^t^ did not come to them with any present according to the Indian Custom, they doubted the Truth of it.

[1] As Trade with the Indians is the only Method of securing & extending an Influence over them, how pernicious this Trade from Albany to Canada must have been at this time when the French were laying the Foundation of that extensive Influence they have since obtained over the Indians & this Settlement at Irondequat known to be so fatal an Attempt upon the Interest of this Colony. I say the perniciousness of this Trade must have been no less obvious to those who helped it forwards at Albany than to every Body who in the least considered it. But those Albany Men got money by it to w^ch^ they would sacrifice every other consideration. This is so clear a proof of the Justice of those observations w^ch^ the Notes on these Papers contain against these People, as will prevent any who may read them from thinking 'em too harsh. Those who know the Albany People dont want such an Instance as this to fix their Opinion. This same [free] Trade from Albany to Canada is at this day carried on — (the 19 Feb^ry^ 1754 —

They are apprehensive that the Small Pox w^ch^ was bro^t^ amongst them & destroyed so many of their People last fall, was designedly sent amongst them from Conostoga Virginia or Maryland. The Gov^r^ answered, that the Commiss^rs^ of Indian Affairs had sent him word that the French were building a Fort in the Sennecas Country but that he would not believe it relying on the Fidelity of the 5 Nat^s^ in general & the Sennecas in particular to this Gov^t^ that they would not permit any such thing, And also that the French would not dare to infringe the Treaty of Peace lately made between the Two Crowns w^ch^ such an attempt would do.[1]

(P. 112.) I am very well pleased that you yourselves have observed that we [already] have in a manner furnished out that French Trading House at Irondequat, it being solely maintained either by Goods sent directly from hence thither or by the Canal [from] of Montreal & Canada It is an Evil w^ch^ must be prevented, & I shall forthwith use my Endeavour to put a final End to that pernicious Trade w^ch^ I am sure is hurtful to both of us & only serves to put money in the Pocketts of a few Traders. in the meantime I think it is Expedient the French should be told by the Sennekas to retire.

As to the Report of our joining in any Scheme to cut off the Indians the Supposition is absurd & ridiculous & is one of those many Falshoods & artifices made use of by the French to disturb our Union & Friendship. To put an End to any such Idle Suspicions I now accquaint & assure you I have Orders from the King my Mas^tr^ to renew the Covenant with you & link you to ourselves by a Chain indissoluably strong.

As to the Small Pox it is a Desease w^ch^ arises from natural Causes & now rages violently in Pensilvania & Jerseys whose Inhabitants have suffered & do daily suffer greatly by it —

The Gov^r^ in his Public Speech to the 5 Nations told them —

That he did in this public & Solemn Manner give them full assurance of His Majestys affection towards them & of his Powerful Protection against all who shall dare to molest them.

[1] The Treaty of Utrecht to w^ch^ refer

That in the same public & Solemn Manner in his Majestys Name & by his Command he did renew the Antient Covenant with the 5 Nations. And to prevent all Mistakes on this Head I must remind you what has ever been meant & understood by you as well as us by the Covenant Chain — That on the One hand his Majestys Subjects on this Continent should not only refrain from all Acts of Hostility or anything tending that way towards you but readily assist when you were Attacked by others or inable you by such Methods as were in their Power to repel Force & by Force to defend your Selves. And on the other hand you were on your parts to live in the strictest Friendship with all his Majestys Subjects & in case they should be Attacked by any Enemy whatsoever to assist them in the readiest & most Effectual Manner in your Power. he added when he had their answer to this Speech, he should then give them the Appointed Presents —

(P. 113.) Albany 14 June 1717. The Five Nations in answer to the foregoing Speech of Gov^{r} Hunter say. The assurances he hath given them in the Name of their our [gre] great Mas^{r} the King of Great Britain are very acceptable to them & hope they shall never give any the least Suspicion of breaking the Covenant Chain —

They accept the renewal of the Cov^{t} Chain & promise it shall be faithfuly kept on their parts.

That they are very thankful for the presents His Majesty hath sent them & are sensible of his Kindness for them the continuance whereof they will endeavour by their Dutiful Behaviour to merit.

15 June They make a Second Speech to Gov^{r} Hunter in w^{ch} they say " You told us [yesterday] that the large Presents made us Yesterday is from the King our Master whose Subjects we are & we are thankful of his Favour & Kindness."

The rest of the Speech is cheifly complaining of the dearness of Goods. They say they have often desired that their Complaints on this Head might be transmitted

[from] to the King, but they imagine all their Complaints on this point have been suppressed & concealed from His Majestys Knowledge or they doubt not he would have taken some Measures in their favour.

The Gov^{r} answers & assures them that all their Propositions made to him have constantly been sent over to his Majesty as these shall also be. but that the price of Goods dos not depend upon any Persons Will, that Marketts must govern in these Affairs w^{ch} are sometimes higher & sometimes lower, but that he would advise them in order to get the best prices for their Furrs not to go into the Traders Houses but stay on the Hill & there sell their Furrs by retail to the best Bidders. —

here follow in the Records several Messages to & transactions with the 5 Nations to prevent their going out a fighting with the Indians in alliance with Virginia & South Carolina. And the 5 Nations did promise they would forbear all Hostilities with those Indians & desired that Deputies might be sent from Virginia & S. Carolina to settle what Nations of Indians were in Alliance with the British Gov^{t}

Albany 27 March 1718. By the Gov^{rs} order a Smith & his Journeyman are sent up to remain in the Sennekas Country for the Space of One year —

(P. 114.) Albany 14 May 1719. A considerable Number of far Indians (from what part is not mentioned but I judge about the West end of Lake Erie) arrive at Albany to Trade, & say they met with many obstructions from the French but in spight of all they came hither & hope they shall be well treated & have Goods Cheap.

The Commiss^{rs} answer that they are very glad to see them & that they will find Goods cheaper here than the French can afford them, *for they get their Goods from hence.*

1 June. Sundry other far Indians arrive at Albany to Trade some from the Western parts of Lake Erie & others living about the Banks of the Missisippi. They say they met with many difficulties particularly from the French in their Journey hither.

16 June. Some Twigh Twee Indians arrive at Albany to Trade [1]

19 June. The Gov^rs of the Southern Provinces having made a Complaint to Gov^r Hunter of the Mohocks & Oneidas making War upon & taking Prisoners Indians in Alleiance with those Gov^ts, the Commiss^rs of Indian Affairs are directed to send for the Cheifs of those Nations & to remonstrate to them upon these Complaints, w^ch being done the said Nations say in their Defence. That the Indians they Attacked lived to the Southwards beyond the Limits of his Majesties Dominions & that the People of the Southern Colonies had themselves made war upon the same Indians &^c however if we want them to cease making War upon the Southern Indians we must convene all the Warriors of the 5 Nations at Onondaga or the Sennekas Country & lay the Matter before them, for they now present cannot take upon them to detirmine in this Affair.

The Commiss^rs Transmit the above Answer to the Gov^r

(P. 115.) Albany 23^d June 1719. Sundry westward Indians called Adewadiene [2] come to Albany to Trade & say they were coming Two years ago but were hindered by the French. They desire to have Goods cheap &^c

The Commiss^rs welcome them & tell them the French want Goods themselves from Albany & have none but what they fetch from thence & consequently they cant buy of the French so cheap as they may at Albany.

28 June Several Indians of a Nation called by the French De Souteur [3] come to Albany to Trade.

[1] The French have now almost totally stopped our Communication with these Western Indians by their Forts Niagre & another at the Head of Lake Erie. But if the Albany People had not supplied them with Goods to lay the Foundation of their settlement in those parts, & this Gov^t built a Trading house between Lake Erie & Lake Ontario, that extensive Communication the French now have would probably have been prevented. If the French establish their Forts & Settlements on the Ohio, they will perfect their line of communication thro the Continent.

[2] The Adawadenys, a sub tribe of the Far Indians whose home was probably south of the lakes. — Ed.

[3] The Saulteurs from Sault Ste Marie. — Ed.

Albany 6 of July 1719. De Canissore chief Sachem of Onondaga arrives at Albany & accquaints the Commissioners that the French are building a Fort at Jagara [1] near the great Falls & says that the French are settling all round them so that they are confined as it were to their own particular Posessions within the narrow Limits of their own Country & says they have reason to suspect (according to the usual practice of the French) that they may when Opportunity offers take the first advantage to destroy them.

De Canassore being asked how he came by this News he says he being lately at one of the farthermost Castles of the Sennekas called Onahee within a days Journey of Jagarah he met with some Uttawawa Indians who said they had asked the French how they came to make a Fort there without asking leave of the 5 Nations, who answered they had built it of their own Accord without asking any Bodies leave & designed to keep Horses & Carts there for Transportation of Goods, besides by that means they could hinder those Forreign Nations from Trading at Albany. he says further that 5 of those Indians being on their Journey hither with Goods One of them was killed.

Upon this Message the Commiss^{rs} offered De Kanissore a Belt of (p. 116) Wampum to give the 5 Nations & to desire them to forbid the French to build any Fort near Jagarah, but De Canissore said as he came with this Intelligence in a Private Capacity he could not accept the Belt but if His Excell^{cy} thinks proper to take such Methods in destroying the Fort as was done in destroying the Block House at Onondaga he dos not doubt but it will be Effected to the satisfaction of the Gov^{r} & the 5 Nations & that he himself will use his utmost Endeavours & dos not doubt

[1] Fort Niagara, to the Southward of w^{ch} near Lake Erie the French have now another Fort & by this means they cut off from Albany all the Trade with the Numerous Nations of Western Indians, and the Albany People to this Day supply the French with Goods to Trade with the Indians at the above Places, w^{ch} the French transport from Albany to Montreal &^{c}

Vide D^{r} Coldens Memorial to Gov^{r} Burnet.

but the 5 Nations will use their utmost Endeavours in effecting it.

The Commiss^rs transmit to Gov^r Hunter a Copy of the above Intelligence, & say they think the Management of this Affair is of the last consequence to this Gov^t [1] —

Albany 7 Nov^r 1719. The Commiss^rs meet the Sachems of the 5 Nations & accquaint them that Co^l Peter Schuyler Presd^t of the Council did intend meeting them himself but is prevented by Sickness — They therefore speak to them by his Order.

And First. They renew the Covenant Chain with them in behalf of this Gov^t & all his Majes^ys Gov^ts on the Continent.

2^dly That Co^l Schuyler has information that some of them are going out a fighting against the Indians in Alliance with the Neighboring Colonies. they are desired to stay at home & hunt Bever w^ch will be more to their true Interest.

3^dly That Jean Coeur the French Interpreter was in their Country that no French man ought to be suffered to reside there & they are desired not to suffer him or any other French Man to stay amongst them.

The 9 of Nov^r the Sachems answered

I. That they renew the Covenant Chain with this Gov^t but as to (p. 117) renewing the Cov^t Chain with the Gov^rs of the Southward they wonder that is mentioned, for that 2 years ago the Gov^r of Virginia made complaints of some of their People doing Mischief in his Country & that they had desired he would come himself or Depute some Body to come to Albany with some Sachems of the Indians in his Alliance that they might adjust all Matters Face to Face. that he ought to have given an answer to this their Proposal & as he has not they think he dos not desire a Peace between his Indians & them. —

[1] About this Time Gov^r Hunter embarked for England & Co^l Peter Schuyler was left Commander in Chief whether this very important affair of the French building a Fort at Niagara was duly attended to will probably appear by the Records & I shall be very careful to extract everything I find relating thereto.

2dly That as to some of their Peoples going out a fighting it is true & they cannot at present give any further answer to that Article.

3dly That as to sending the French Interpreter out of their Country they cannot do it for if they do the French will treat them as Enemies, but they say, *do you go there & send him from thence yourselves, when the French were building a Block House at Onondaga Col Peter Schuyler went & destroyed it & they did not take it ill.*

The Commissrs reply that They desire they would delay their going out a fighting to the Southward till next Spring by wch time they may hear from Virginia.

The Indians answer as follows

You say that Jean Coeur is to stay among us this Winter & that hele make it his Interest to hinder the far Indians from coming to Trade here, You can better prevent his hindering those Indians from coming to Trade here than we, for if you do not supply the French with Goods from hence they cant furnish the Far Indians with what they want & hardly those who live near them for they get but little Goods themselves from France, we are desirous to know whether you will send a Messenger to our Country to banish Jean Coeur from thence & write to the Govr of Canada about that Subject.[1]

(to enforce this Matter they give a Belt of Wampum)

The Commissrs answer they will send what the Sachems have sd to Col Schuyler & until they have his answer they can say nothing on that head.

(P. 118.) I omitted to Extract the following from the Records.

Albany 3d of Augt 1719.

Some Cayouge Sachems come to the Commissrs with 7. hands of Wampum & accquaint them that the Land belonging to them on the Susquahannah River was annexed to or Put

[1] It is remarkable to see the Indians pointing out the true Interest of this Govt & at ye same time to observe either our Stupidity or Villainy preventing any attention to It. —

under the Protection of this Gov^{t} about 34 or 35 years ago.[1] They now offer to this Gov^{t} the refusal to purchase s^{d} Land in preference to [another] any other Gov^{t}[2] —

The Commiss^{rs} answer they will send to Co^{l} Schuyler a Copy of this Proposal of theirs

Jean Coeur the French Interpreter continues in the Sennecas Country & carrys such an Influence amongst them that he prevails on them to degrade a Chief Sachem who was in the Interest of this Gov^{t} & to appoint one of his Nomination in his room. he also finds means to persuade the 5 Nations into a rupture with those far or Western Indians who were desirous to carry on a Trade with Albany in order to prevent it. Upon these accounts Mess^{rs} Myndert Schuyler & Rob^{t} Livingston Jun^{r} are appointed to go up to the Sennekas Country & recieve Instructions bearing date 22 April 1720 — to endeavour the removal of Jean Coeur from our Indians, to impress upon them a proper Sense of their Duty to his Majesty & their Connexion with this Gov^{t} to prevent their making War upon any Indians in Alliance with the adjacent Colonies or such as may be inclined to come & Trade at Albany — to get the Blue beck Sachem restored & the One put in his Room by Jean Coeur [restored] degraded.

22 May Mess^{rs} Myndert Schuyler & Rob^{t} Livingston Jun^{r} being arrived in the Sennekas Country send the Interpreter Laurence Claasse to Ochjagare (where Fort Niagara now is) with Three Senneka Sachems in order to warn the French to demolish & Quit the Trading House w^{ch} they have built there. Upon Claasse arrival there he found 3 French Traders in a House of 40 foot long & 30 broad — he told them that he was sent with these three Sachems to tell them that the 5 Nations having heard of their Building

[1] Vide pages 4. 5. & 6 —

[2] I suppose M^{r} Penn or his Agents were making proposals of purchase to them, for about this time or later he made a purchase of it from them. (The lands on the Susquehanna had been placed by the Indians under Governor Dongan's protection, but in 1696 they were transferred to William Penn. These lands caused endless trouble and many conferences between the Iroquois and the Pennsylvanians. — Ed.)

this House & considered how prejudicial a French Settlement on their Land must be to them & their Posterity, they have (p. 119) sent him the said Claasse & these 3 Sachems to accquaint the French that it is much against the Inclination of the 5 Nations that any Building should be made in this Place & to desire the French will desist from any further Building & demolish what they have built.

To this One of the Frenchmen replyed
That they had leave from the young fighting Men of the Sennekas to build this House & that he would not demolish it until he had wrote to the Gov^{r} of Canada who had posted him there. The Three Sachems said they never heard their young Men had given any such leave.

Laurence Claasse returned to the Sennekas & desired their Sachems to convene their Young Capts together w^{ch} being done he in the presence of Jean Coeur the French Inter^{r} reported what he had said to the French at Ochjagare & their answer. Upon w^{ch} the Sachems & young Capts. declared that the French had built that House at Ochjagare without asking any of them leave & desired that the Gov^{r} of New York would use his Endeavours to get that House demolished that they may without any fear of Molestation preserve their Land & Hunting.[1]

Albany 31 Aug^{t} 1720. Co^{l} Peter Schuyler Pres^{t} at Albany where the Mohack, the Oneida, the Onondaga & Cayouge

[1] by this I judge that Fort Niagara & the other French Fort nearer to Lake Errie are Encroachments of the French upon the Lands belonging to the 5 Nations & by them annexed to [apart] to the Colony of New York & put under the Protection of the Crown of England by a Voluntary deed from the 5 Nations in the year 1701. & w^{ch} I understand is in Possession of the Board of Trade. And the Treaty of Utrecht dos confirm to the Crown of Great Brittain [their] its Title, tho not expressly yet intentionally.

(Vide Treaty of Utrecht)

this Deed in my Opinion vests in the Crown a large Extent of Land to the Westward of Niagara Falls. —

(The deed is found in *New York Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 908. — Ed.)

Sachems met him, but none from the Sennekas; One Sachem out of each of those 4 Nations had a Conference with the President & told him, that Jean Coeur had taken his leave of the Senneka Sachems in order to return to Montreal but a Messenger met him in the Way with a Letter from the Gov^{r} of Canada upon w^{ch} he returned to the Sennekas & told them that the Gov^{r} of Canada sent them word out of Compassion to them their Wifes & Children that Co^{l} Nicloson was coming Gov^{r} to New York with an Intention totally to destroy all the 5 Nations &^{c} he therefore advised them to stay at home & keep on their Guard. And the above Sachems judge by the Sennekas not coming down to meet the Pres^{t} that they have given (p. 120) Ear to this News from the Gov^{r} of Canada. They add further that the Gov^{r} of Canada sent the Sennekas word that he heard the Gov^{r} of New York intended to demolish the Trading House built at Jagare, but that he would fortify it & if such an Attempt was made it should cost Blood.

The President told the 4 Sachems that he was surprized the Sennekas would listen to & be influenced by such Lyes from the French & that the frequent Experience they have had of their Falshood ought to arm them with such Distrust & disdain for the French as to prevent their Deciet taking Effect. Further he tells them. *The French have nothing to do to make Settlements on your Land at Jagare, w^{ch} the Bretheren have many years ago Surrendered to the Crown of Great Britain, to be kept for them &^{a} their Posterity, And it is against the Treaty of Peace concluded between our Great King George &^{a} the French King so that it cannot be suffered that they should make such Encroachments.*

The said Sachems made Answer. That they were very sensible that it was prejudicial to the 5 Nations as well as this Gov^{t} for the French to make any Settlements at Jagare, and therefore if the President would send some of his People the 5 Nations would join them & go & pull

down all the French Buildings there. But say they we must tell you, that the Selling of Goods to the French & their Indians in Canada, is a great Inducement to the French to make that Settlement & therefore we desire you to Stop that Trade & then the French will not have Goods so cheap to serve the far Indians withal, for all the Indians are sensible Goods can be had Cheaper at Albany than at Canada & so are the French w^{ch} makes them come hither to buy [& supply] in order to supply the farr Indians who otherwise would come here themselves to purchase. —

I find no Answer from the President recorded to the above Proposals from the Sachems of the 4 Nations, but in a Public Speech he made to the 4 Nations assembled bearing date the 2^{d} Sep^{r} he tells them as to the French Settlement at Jagare, [he says] he would have the 5 Nations easy about it for the present since all possible means shall be used to redress their Grievances.

This cold Answer of the Presidents to the advantageous Proposals of the Sachems, & the Gov^{r} of New York suffering this Settlement of the French at Jagare to remain unmolested is very astonishing. Quere. whether the French Traders at Albany were not the cause of it ? —

(P. 121.) Albany 10 Sep^{r} 1720 — Co^{l} Peter Schuyler having in vain waited for the Senneka Sachems took his departure for New York. This day the said Sachems who arrived the 9th made their Speech to the Commiss^{rs} they having first accquainted them with what had passed between Co^{l} Schuyler & the Four Nations.

They say the affairs w^{ch} Co^{l} Schuyler treated of with the 4 Nations is to the entire Satisfaction of the whole 5.

They desire they may have a Smith posted in their Country & say they cannot well do without one, that last they had for want of Iron & Steel could not compleat the Work they wanted to be done.

They say that the French have surrounded them & made Settlements at the Five following Places.

Teoondoroquo
Jehagee
Ochswegee
Cahaquagee
&
Ochjagare

The names of these places being differently spelt in diff^{t} parts of the Records I cannot exactly ascertain their Situations; there is no doubt of their all being on the south sides of Lake Ontario & Lake Erie.[1] — w^{ch} being their principal Passages & hunting Places, we desire (say they) that our Great King may be accquainted that the French encroach on us by making Settlements & Trading Houses on our Land.

They say the reason they could not come down at the appointed Time to meet the President was, [on] a Jealousy & disturbance w^{ch} has been in their Country upon Acc^{t} of Two Principal Sachems of one of their Castles who with their Wives & Families are gone to live in Canada that several others of that Castle are to follow, w^{ch} they fear will be of fatal Consequence to the Interest of the 5 Nations. That they used every kind of Persuasion with the above Two Sachems to prevail on them to go down to Albany to meet the President but in vain for they flatly refused to go. And further that the Indians of the above Castle had suffered the French to hoist their Colours there —

The Above Sachems said they would go down to New York & accquaint the Presid^{t} with these Affairs themselves & talk to him Face to Face. w^{ch} Proposal was approved of by the Commiss^{rs} who wrote an acc^{t} of this Conference with the Sennekas to the President & represented the fatal Consequences w^{ch} might be bro^{t} on this Colony in pticular & ye others in general by suffering the French thus to execute their Scheemes of building Settlements in the Country of the 5 Nations

[1] Teoorondoquo = Irondequat.
Jehagee probably = Cayuga.
Ochswegee = Oswego.
Cahaqugee = Cayouhage east of Oswego, probably Salmon River, Oswego County, New York
Ochjagare = Niagara. — Ed.

(P. 122.) Albany 20 October 1720. W^m^ Burnet Esq^r^ Gov^r^ writes to the Commissioners to post a Smith in the Sennekas Country, one is accordingly sent there & Three other Persons are dispatched with him to remain there in order to watch & oppose the Designs of the French & to secure the Fidelity of the French to this Gov^t^.

Gov^r^ Burnet Issues a new Commission for Commiss^rs^ for Indian Affairs & sends Instructions to Philip Livingston Deputy Secretary for Indian Affairs in w^ch^ he writes as follows.

I have named you a Commiss^r^ of Indian Affairs with some other New Persons & displaced some of the former Commiss^rs^ finding that they had misrepresented the true Cause of the French Success with the Indians, tho your Father had prepared Clauses for that purpose in a Memorial delivered to them, these I find they have changed so as to Shelter the Profit some of them had & concealed the Mischief the Country received from their Pernicious Trade with the French [1] —

I am informed there are Three Young Men now amongst the Sennecas who have Twenty Pounds a Peice alowed them tho they are gone there on Acc^t^ of Trade & consequently will have no Interest with the Indians or be of any Service to the Public.

The Gov^r^ orders s^d^ Salary to be withdrawn.

22^d^ Dec^r^ 1720. The Commiss^rs^ write Gov^r^ Burnet that the money alotted by the Assembly to give the Indians in order to persuade them to demolish the French House at Niagara will not be suff^t^ & tho it was, would not be of real Service to this Gov^t^ unless we took Possession of that Pass.

[1] This Accusation I am verily of Opinion & others equaly disgraceful may be laid to the Charge of most Commiss^rs^ that have ever been appointed at Albany. the public Interest is but a weak & Secondary Motive to their conduct, their public office is for the most part made subservient to their private Interest. The People of Albany are extremely Ignorant & Illiterate & so enslaved to the love of Money that they have no other Principle of Action. To their Scandalous & Unpatriot Conduct has in a great Measure been owing that Progress of the French on this Continent, w^ch^ I fear is now come to so formidable a heigth as not to be repeled. At least Albany Commiss^rs^ will (in my opinion) never contribute to it.

but they say before the Assembly can make the necessary disposition for such an Undertaking & Matters be ripened to put it in Execution they are of opinion the French (p. 123) will add Such Security to it, that it will cost a vast sume of Money to carry that Point.[1]

Albany 9 Febʳʸ 1720/21 By a Letter from the Commissʳˢ to Govʳ Burnet I find the Govʳ wanted to promote a Settlement near Niagara & Land to be taken up there for that purpose, but the Commissʳˢ say no Body will go to settle there the Land being not proper —

I find also that several People were going up that way in order to push a Trade with the far Indians & to build at Trading House at Niagara. Govʳ Burnet having forbid all Trade with the French or their Indians by way of Albany & Canada wᶜʰ by the Commissʳˢ manner of writing dos not seem pleasing to them.

20 March. The French by the Influence of their Settlement at Niagara & other Means prevail on the Sennekas to apply for a French Priest & a Smith to be settled amongst them. And the French Interpreter told the Sennekas that if they assisted the English to destroy the Fort Niagara they would make War upon the 5 Nations —

27 April 1721. The Commissʳˢ write the following Letter to Govʳ Burnet

We hope yʳ Excellᶜʸ has received our last of the 20 Inst. Inclosed we send yʳ Excellᶜʸ a Letter wᶜʰ Coˡ Schuyler has received from Monsʳ Vaudrieul Govʳ of Canada whereby your Excellᶜʸ will perceive what Claim the French make to Jugara (Fort

[1] The Opinion of the Commissʳˢ upon demolishing without taking Possession of this Important Pass seems to me just. This Govᵗ had already lost their Critical Time, and with a shameful Indolence suffered the French to fix themselves too secure tho timely forewarned by the Indians. but the Albany Traders found an Advantage in selling Goods to the French who at the above Pass & others near it by yᵗ means supplied the far Indians & established themselves. whether the Commissʳˢ Ignorance kept 'em from foreseeing the future Consequences, or their private advantage kept them from making it known, may be a Question. it is hard to decide wᶜʰ is greatest, their Ignorance or their Selfishness.

Niagara) he wants to know if the report be true he says to have heard of Co[l] Schuylers going to build a Fort there & what bold threatening he inserts if any such thing should be attempted by this Gov[t].

We are ignorant of what he says, that we know as well as he that part of the Country doth not belong to this Gov[t] We know what sort of Claim the French make thereto, viz. that about 30 years ago they sent some of their Men there to War against (p. 124) the Indians, they lost many of their Men thro Famine & the rest were obliged to leave that place being the Indians were too powerful for them & starved them from the Settlements they made. If that gives them a good Title to take Possession of & claim that Country we leave y[r] Excell[cy] to judge. They have had a Fort there first. This very Land & to the Westward of it the five Nations have in 1701. given to His Majesty as appears by the Minutes kept here.[1]

We are informed that about 400 men are going up from Montreal to make a Stone Fort at Niagara & that Priests are to go to the Sennekas Country. the French are very diligent to preserve their Trade & embrace the least Opportunity w[ch] may be for their Advantage & Interest. It seems on the Contrary that hitherto WE have neglected & slighted it, but we hope that proper Measures will be taken to disappoint the pernicious Designs of the French, if that be not speedily done we are apprehensive that it will not only be to our utter Ruin & distruction but also on the Neighbouring Gov[ts] on the Continent. —

(These Observations of the Commiss[rs] confirm several observations I have thrown in by way of Notes to the Abstracts & I am of opinion the Supineness of this Colony formerly [have] has prejudiced it & given advantages to the French w[ch] we shall never be able to retrieve. If any Method is left it must be by very Vigorous Proceedings & throwing the Managment of Indian Affairs into another

[1] this Surrender hath been several times mentioned in these Records & the Original Deed from the Indians w[ch] I am informed is in possession of the Lords of Trade, doth certainly exclude the French from any Legal Claim to Fort Niagara & to the Westward as far as that Deed implys & vests it in the Crown of G[t] Britain to whom it belongs by the Jus Gentium.

channel than by Albany Commiss^{rs} I will look over the Minutes of the Council at this time to see if any Copy was taken of the Mons^{r} Vaudrieul's Letter above mentioned & if Gov^{r} Burnet wrote anything to him on the Subject of Niagara).

I find by the Minutes of Council the French Advanced only the same unsound & indeed False Arguments by M^{r} Vaudrieul in relation to Niagara, as are sundry times noted in these Abstracts, & were answered in the manner frequently mentioned in these Papers. (P. 125.) I find by the Records that the Trade at Albany with the far Indians began again to revive & that they had hopes of its increasing. There is no doubt this was owing to Gov^{r} Burnets prohibition of the Trade from Albany to Canada, w^{ch} was a wise exsalent Measure.[1]

Albany 11 June 1721. Laurence Claasse the Interpreter & others who was sent to the Sennekas Country to watch the Motions of the French, return & report. That Mons^{r} Longuiel Gov^{r} of Trois Rivièrs marched from Irondequat to Niagara with 100 Men & told the Sennekas that on his return he would pay them a Visit. he accordingly did & then Spoke to them as follows.

Children

I am come to see whether it be true what I heard at Montreal, that 200 Men were gone from Albany to demolish the House w^{ch} we have built at Niagara; if the

[1] Numbers of Indians of Six diff^{t} Nations in May & June came to Albany to Trade & entered into Treatys of Peace with this Gov^{t} & all of them said the French had used every Artifice in their power to prevent their coming to Albany; but they would not be hindered. All this was the Effect of the prohibition of the Trade with Canada. And y^{e} Commiss^{rs} tell the Indians so notwithstanding such Numbers of Western Indians whom the French had for many years past supplied with Goods w^{ch} they purchased at Albany came down to Albany to Trade since the prohibition of the Canada Trade, & a fair Prospect of carrying the whole Trade with the Far Indians, w^{ch} it was evident must in time have put an End to the french influence over those Indians thrown it into our Scale, & prevented any French Settlements or Forts in those parts, Yet none of these public advantages could deter these Albanians [into] from this pernicious Trade. It is hardly possible to keep ones Pen within the Bounds of Moderation, when these Vermin come in ones way.

English had taken Possession of that Passage & demolished the said House, I would have demanded the same Thrice according to our Christian Custom, but if they had then not surrendered it I would have taken it with Force of Arms, Not that we claim that Land, but we built there only a Trading House to furnish the Indians with Goods & necessarys coming & going to & from Hunting w^{ch} if we leave we will destroy it our Selves & not suffer it to be done by others having obteined y^{r} leave to build there. And he said further I suppose the English infuse into your Ears that we shall build a Fort there & anoy you, but do now promise not to make any stronger Building than what is now Erected.

11 July 1721. Some Indians who live near Tughsakrondie or LeDroit come to Albany to Trade, They say they have not been there before for 20 years, but rejoice the Path is now again opened that they may visit their Antient Friends & Allies.

The Commiss^{rs} welcome them & tell them they will find Goods much cheaper than they could get them from the French who had 'em from Albany, but that Trade is now prohibited & desire them to accquaint all the adjacent Indians therewith.

(P. 126.) Albany 7 Sep^{r} 1721. Gov^{r} Burnet meets the 5 Nations at Albany & makes a long & pathetic Speech to them, It appears to me [nothng] perfectly adapted to wean the Indians from the Influence of the French whose Gov^{t} whose Politics & Emissaries he paints in a just Light to the Indians, & points out to them by solid & animated Reasoning that it is their true Interest to remain sincerely stedfust to their Antient Connexions with this Gov^{t}, & not suffer their Fidelity to be shaken by the Artifices of the French. with regard to their Settlement at Niagara he tells them.

When the French come among you again let them know that you disapprove of their coming into your Country & living on your Land at Niagara or any where else,

that you give them positive Notice to take away said House & to come no more into your Country, and that after this warning given them if they do return you will complain to me & inform me who the Persons are that offend. for the French have agreed in their last Treaty in Express words not to Molest the 5 Nations w^ch^ they certainly do if they come among you & live upon your Land.

If the French are not permitted among you some of our People would come & live with you & supply you with Goods much cheaper & better than the French. —

he tells them he enquired what in their Opinion was the surest Method to weaken the French & oblige them to abandon their Forts. And he found it was their Advice to stop the Trade from Albany to Canada; this he accordingly had done, tho he found it was not quite Broke.

he tells them he has bro^t^ as noble a Present from his Majes^y^ King George as ever was given them but he will not give it them till they have made their Answer that they may not have it too soon to be cheated out of it for Rum. — Vide Notes pag. 85.

(P. 127.) Albany, Sep^r^ 1721. The Answer of the 5 Nations. To the forementioned Speech of Gov^r^ Burnets [the 5 Nations in w^ch^ they did not seem to] shows they were convinced of the force of the Gov^rs^ Reasoning with them. They renew the Cov^t^ with all his Majesties Subjects in America & promise to preserve their Faith inviolable with this Colony & solemnly [promise] engage they will hold no Correspondance with the French inconsistent with their Fidelity to this Gov^t^ & that in relation to the French Settlement at Niagara they will behave as the Gov^r^ has advised & directed. (I have met with no Speech of the Indians in w^ch^ they seem to be in a better Temper or more disposed to have Co-operated with any Measures w^ch^ the Gov^t^ at this time might have proposed to them, and I think it is to be wished some vigorous Proceedings had taken place at this Juncture with regard to the French

Encroachments upon that part of the Country w^ch^ had been Solemnly annexed to the Crown of G^t^ Britain & assertained by the Spirit & meaning of the Treaty of Utrecht. had Gov^r^ Burnet whose Integrity & Capacity I have heard much commended here, been properly informed of the Influence the French had gained over the 5 Nations & that certain degree of Awe they had inspired them with, he would not I think have rested the Affair of the French incroachments so much upon the Indians Managment, but have profited by their present happy Disposition & imediately have proposed some decisive Plan of Action to the Assembly; but whether he thought after this manner, or was distressed by Party, [by] from having thrown himself into the hands of One to combat another according to that Capital Error of most Colony Gov^rs^ I am not sufficiently informed to detirmine. I may make a wrong Judgment, but I think this was a critical Opportunity to have Defeated the Indian Politics & crushed the rising Power of the French with regard to the Indians in these Parts. And I have prophetical Fears that it was an ireparable Neglect, if not, as at this time so I am persuaded at all others, that the total Extinction of all Trade & Correspondance from Albany to Canada must be the Groundwork of any true Political Opposition to the French Scheemes of Extending & securing themselves on this Continent, but this [affair] Opposition depends upon such a Unanimity of several Neighbouring Colonies in general & such a prevailing Public Spirit of each in particular as I fear cannot with any great Probability be expected. A Parliamentary interposition might do much. — but in these Matters I will remember, Magis offendit nimium, quam parum.

(P. 128.) before Gov^r^ Burnet left Albany he ordered a Smith & his Man to be posted in the Sennekas Country & that £100 — out of £500 voted by the Assembly to be laid out encouraging Settlements among the Indians, should be given to encourage a Number of People to go up & settle

at Irondequat on Lake Ontario in order to push a Trade with the Far or western Indians & that such as went there should Trade as joint Stock Company & were to be under the direction of a Principal, And that they were to communicate how the French received what the Indians would say about their being settled on their Land. —

Albany 15 Sep^{r} 1721. After Gov^{r} Burnet had left Albany the Sachtakook Indians came thither & say they were out a hunting when the Gov^{r} was there & are sorry they lost the Opportunity of speaking to his Excell^{y} — but they will now tell their Grievances to the Commiss^{rs} they say, their Hearts cry within them because they are very much abused in this City, for when some of their People come to drink a Gill of Rum they are Inticed to drink till they are drunk & then they pawn their Blankets Cloaths & Jewels.

Albany 25 Nov^{r} 1721. Laur. Claasse the Interpreter returns from the Sennekas Country & reports that they had an Acc^{t} there that Jean Coeur the french Interpreter with 30 Men were at Niagara & were strongly fortifying their Settlement there & that the French were taking Possession of all the principal Passages & hunting Places of the 5 Nations about Lake Ontario. —

11 Dec^{r} The French by false Reports & Scandalous practices on the 5 Nations raise great Commotions amongst them making them believe the English have an Intention to cut them off &^{c}

Laur. Claasse is sent up to Onondaga to clear up these Matters.

31 March 1722. The Commiss^{rs} receive Information that the prohibited Trade to Canada is carried on by certain Persons in Albany but it is not recorded by whom

Albany 3 May 1722 — Laurence Claasse the Interpreter having been dispatched to the Sennekas to remind them what they had promised to say to the French upon their Settling at Niagara returns & says the same Sachem who spoke last (p. 129) year to the Gov^{r} on his return had told Jean

Coeur the French Interpreter that their settling at Niagara was disagreeable to the 5 Nations & desired that the French would demolish the House they had built there & quit their Settlement, to w^ch^ Jean Coeur had answered, That he would not break down the House at Niagara but continue his abode there & would have nothing to do with the 5 Nations, & say'd if your Bro^r^ Corlaer can show better Title than my Master the Gov^r^ of Canada who ordered me to build that House there & when he gives me Directions to demolish it it shall be done & not before, but I doubt whether the Two Gov^rs^ can decide the Matter, I think it must be done by the Two Crowns. —

Albany 21 May 1722. Sixteen Ottowawa Indians come to Trade at Albany[1] & say they broke thro many Obstacles from the French

4 June 1722. The Commiss^rs^ write the Gov^r^ that the prohibition of the Trade to Canada proves to be ineffectual for that Trade is still privately carried on, & that it is in a great measure owing to his Excell^cys^ granting Passes to persons to go to Canada & that those Passes are only made use of as a Cover for Trade.

They write, some of the far Indians are here & many more would come in Time if the French were not supplied with Strouds from hence.

They write again the 4 July as follows

We have been honoured with your Excell^cys^ favours of the 19 & 23 Ult^o^ We are glad your Excell^cy^ & the Assembly are sensible of the ill Consequences of that pernicious Trade with our Neighbours of Canada for Indian Goods has been to this Province & still will be if not timely & Effectually prevented. —

N. B. The Indian Trade at Albany was formerly & is still divided into Two Branches, the Northern & Western

[1] the Effect of the prohibition of the Trade to Canada

Trade, the former to Canada the latter among the 5 Nations & the far Nations.

The commiss^{rs} at this Time from their sanguine Opposition to the Canada Trade were I suppose Western Traders. The greatest Fortunes have been got & are at this time getting by the Canada Trade w^{ch} is a proof what supplies we give to the French, w^{ch} increases & extends their Indian Interest, for w^{ch} they wisely pay us in the Canada Trade.

(P. 130.) I find notwithstanding an Act of Assembly prohibiting the Trade to Canada, by the Commiss^{rs} Letters to Gov^{r} Burnet that Trade was largely carried on from Seraghtoga & Woodenfort about 40 Miles from Albany in the Road to Canada & that the Officer posted there with a Detachment of the Indep^{t} Company was expected to be concerned in the same.

Albany 27 August 1722. Gov^{r} Burnet. Co^{l} Spotswood Gov^{r} of Virginia & S^{r} W^{m} Keith Gov^{r} of Pensilvania meet the 5 Nations. —

Gov^{r} Burnet opens this meeting with a Speech wherein he accquaints the 5 Nations that himself & these Gent^{n} are come to renew the Cov^{t} Chain with them & to settle several other Matters with them that there may hereafter be a perfect Harmony between these several Gov^{ts} & the 5 Nations. —

Co^{l} Spotswood Speaks next & tells the 5 Nations that they have never strictly adhered to any Treaties made with that Gov^{t} for these 50 years past, & as they have often desired that some Deputies Might come from Virginia to Albany to Treat with them, he is now come to make such a Peace & Treaty with them in behalf of the Christians of Virginia & the Tributary Indians bordering upon that Province as shall be forever inviolable. And says that the foundation of this Peace is, that the River Potomack & the high ridge of Mountains w^{ch} extend along the Frontiers of Virginia to the Westward of the present Settlements are to be the Boundaries between the 5 Nations & the Virginians X^{ts}

& Indians — so that none of either Gov^{t} shall pass them without Passports from their respective Gov^{rs} or Comm^{drs} in Chief. And that he expects the 5 Nations solemnly Assent to these Limits as the preliminary Article of their present Treaty w^{ch} he promises on the part of Virginia.

S^{r} W^{m} Keith next Speaks & sets forth the long Peace & good Correspondance w^{ch} has subsisted between the Gov^{t} of Pensilvania & the 5 Nations & that he is now come in Company with the Gov^{r} of New York & Virginia to renew fix & brighten the Cov^{t} Chain to make them some Presents, & gives 2 Belts of Wampum the One to be kept as a Memorial of their Unity & Friendship, the other to put them in Mind, that Fidelity to their Allies, & the Arts of Peace are the wisest Methods to secure & strengthen any Nation.

(P. 131.) Albany the first & fourth of Sep^{r} 1722. the 5 Nations Answer Gov^{r} Burnets Speech, in w^{ch} they assure him they have kept the Cov^{t} Chain inviolable & fulfilled all their Promises & his Directions w^{ch} they made & he gave them at their Meeting last year, & that they do unfeignedly resolve to persevere in the same Conduct.

They acknowledge that some Sachems whom they daily expect at Albany have been to Canada & that the Gov^{r} shall know what they have done there as soon as they arrive —

That according to his Excell^{cys} request they have not only encouraged the Far Indians to come & Trade at Albany but have sent Agents among them to prevail on [them to come & Trade at Albany] others to do the same & have assured them they will find Goods much Cheaper there than among the French.[1]

[1] these Zealous Endeavours of the 5 Nations was the Consequence of the Prohibition of the Canada Trade w^{ch} they had frequently & earnestly desired might take place had it been strictly kept up & vigorous measures taken with regard to the French Settlements on the 5 Nations Land, almost the whole Western fur Trade would have centered in this Colony with a proportionable degree of Influence amongst the Indians. for those will ever go hand in hand

Albany 6 Sep^{r} 1722. The 5 Nations & a Castle of Tuscarora Indians lately settled between Oneide & Onondaga make Answer to Gov^{r} Spotswood^{s} Speech & Proposals & they solemnly engage & sign the Preliminary Article with regard to the Boundaries mentioned in Gov^{r} Spotswoods Speech between the Christians & Indians in Virginia & them.

And by way of Exhortation to Gov^{r} Spotswood to be faithful to the " Peace & agreement now entered into they say to him as follows.

" It hath pleased God to make you Christians and us Heathens, but we hope we shall both act according to our Capacities & be faithful to our respective Promises & Engagements. Some are placed in high Stations & some in Low; but there is One above Who rules & governs All & will judge us according to our Actions."

10 Sep^{r} They Answer S^{r} W^{m} Kieths Speech to them & solemnly renew the Covenant Chain with the Province of Pensilvania & lay down several Furs in confirmation of what they say. —

12 Sep^{r} further conferrences passed between Gov^{r} Spotswood & the 5 Nations relating to the Treaty between them & Virginia w^{ch} ended in a firm Union & concurrence on both sides. —

Gov^{r} Burnet concluded this Meeting with a long Speech to the Indians in w^{ch} he told them that himself in Conjunction with the Gov^{rs} of Virginia & Pensilvania did not only renew the Cov^{t} in behalf of their own Gov^{ts} but of all the English Colonies in North America. And this was assented to by the Indians. —

(P. 132.) About this time a War broke out between New England & the Eastern Indians, Gov^{r} Hunter prevailed upon the 5 Nat^{s} to send Deputies to the said Indians to endeavour to procure Peace, this was done but not Effectual. however the Gov^{r} of Boston proposed to Gov^{r} Burnet that they might have a Meeting with the 5 Nat^{s} at Albany in order to procure their Assistance or Interposition w^{ch} was agreed to by Gov^{r} Burnet & the Interpreter

was sent thro the 5 Nations with a Summons for the said Meeting the 20 May 1723. —

The 8th & 21. May several Western Indians come to Albany to Trade & say if they are well used greater Numbers of their Nations will open & continue this Trade, tho the French do all they can to hinder it.

21 May 1723. Laurence Claasse the Interpreter who was sent thro the 5 Nations to summons them to meet the Govr of Boston at Albany returns & reports that he could not prevail upon the Sennekas & Onondagas to come down & found the reason was, that Jean Coeur the french Interpreter had prevailed upon them to refuse to be present at this Meeting. That he had desired leave from the Sachems of the Sennekas to build a Fort at Onjagara (Niagara) but they had refused, but had given him leave to build a Trading House at Irondequat [1]

he also informs the Commissrs that the Tuscarores are received to be a Sixth Nation, so that from this time the Six Nations take their Date. —

I find by the Minutes this Day that the Senneka & Onondaga Sachems do come down to Albany to the Boston Meeting.

29 May 1723. Eighty Men besides Women & Children belonging to several Tribes who live upon the Borders of Lake Huron & Lake Erie [2] come to Albany to Trade & bring with them the Calumet or Pipe of Peace wch they smoke & present the Commissrs to smoke out of, (The Solemn Act of Peace Friendship & Security amongst the Indians.)

[1] Is it not hence evident that the French deemed these Places above mentioned to be the Country of the 5 Nations. that they are so I put down as a Fact apparent from many passages in these Abstracts & also that they were annexed to the Crown of Great Britain by a Solemn Surrender from the 5 Nations in 1701.

[2] "They [the Indians above referred to] being askd where abouts they live and how the french Call these settlements, they Say (by what could be understood) it is Called monsiemakenac." *Original Indian Records*, ii. Probably Michillimackinac. Wraxall was not very strong on geography and neither were the commissioners. — Ed.

They say they have sent Calumets of Peace amongst the Six Nations & are empowered by their Several Tribes to desire they may be joined as a Seventh Nation in the Cov^{t} & League of Peace & Unity with this Gov^{t} They say they have long been endeavouring to come to Albany (p. 133) but have been hindered by the contrivances of the French. That if they find themselves well used in Trade that shall use their Interest with all the Upper Nations their Friends & Allies to bring them into Peace Union & Trade with this Gov^{t} —

The Commiss^{rs} welcome them accept their offer of Peace & Unity & in compliance with their request receive them as a Seventh Nation.[1]

Albany 28 May 1723. The Commiss^{rs} of [Albany] Boston met the representative Sachems of the Six Nations & opened the Conference with a Speech puting them in Mind of the Covenant Chain w^{ch} hath so long subsisted between them & the s^{d} Indians & w^{ch} hath always been kept inviolable on both sides. that they are now come to renew & strengthen the same in behalf of the Gov^{r} of Boston. —

30 May the Sachems Answer & acknowledge the Antiquity & uninterupted Peace & Harmony w^{ch} hath subsisted between them & the Gov^{t} of Boston, that they are pleased to see them come with a Design & desire to renew & Strengthen the Cov^{t} Chain w^{ch} they do now concur in.

The same day the Commiss^{rs} make a further Speech to the Sachems & rehearse to them the rise of their Present war with the Abnequois or Eastern Indians, who tho bound by written Articles of Peace & Subjection to the Crown of Great Britain & the Gov^{t} of Boston as Subjet thereto, have broke their

[1] the surprizing concourse of the Farr Indians to Albany who formerly traded with the French, since the prohibition of the Trade to Canada, is an irrefragable Proof of the great advantage of that prohibition & as Trading is the Only Cement to bind the Indians to our Interest, if proper Methods had been taken to fix & extend this Chanel of Trade, & a Vigorous opposition made to the French at this propitious Juncture, it appears to me the French might have been drove back to their proper Limits in Canada & have been ever rendered incapable of disturbing the British Settlements in N. America.

Faith & Allegiance made war upon & destroyed the Properties & lives of his Majesties Subjects in those Parts. they have therefore declared them Traitors & Enemies & do now call on the Six Nations as fellow Subjects & Allies to take up the Hatchet & assist them against the s[d] Eastern Indians & desire to know whether they will comply. If they do, the Deputies from Boston tell them the presents they have now to give & the further Encouragment they will receive.

(P. 134.) Albany 31 May 1723. An Indian [from] of a Tribe called Agiehantehook settled near S[t] Francois in Canada arrives & Speaks to the Commiss[rs] for this Gov[t] & the Six Nations to the following purpose.

he acknowledges their Tribe had joined the Eastern Indians in their wars upon the Gov[t] of Boston, but upon the Message which had been sent from the Six Nations, they had deputed him to go to the Eastern Indians to propose Peace & laying down the Hatchet, that he went, & had prevailed with the s[d] Eastern Indians in whose Name & by whose Authority he now comes & in the most Solemn & publick Manner lays down the Hatchet of war in behalf of the Eastern Indians & his own Tribe & burys the same for Ever —

3 June the Six Nations make their Answer to the Gov[r] of Boston. In relation to taking up the Hatchet of war against the Eastern Indians, they rehearse the above Message. And they say will put both Hatchets together & desire the Gov[r] of Boston to appoint within Sixty days some Place of Meeting, when they will direct the Eastern Indians to send their Deputies thither & that the Six Nations will do the same & bring the said Two Hatchets with them & there endeavour to compromise Matters & conclude a reconciliation & Peace on all sides.

4 June Boston Deputies Answer, that Peace is not within the Power of their Commission to talk on, And that these Eastern Indians have behaved with so much Perfidy & Treachery that nothing will bind them, however if the Six Nations will not take up the Hatchet, they will acc-

quaint their Gov^t^ with the Proposal & if it should take Effect the Six Nations must solemnly promise that if the Eastern Indians do again break the Peace they will pursue them unto Destruction.

In the afternoon the Six Nations Answered & said if a Peace was concluded at Boston where they desired the Meeting might be, they would be Sureties for the Eastern Indians & if they should then break it they would take up the Hatchet against them. After Comp^ts^ on both sides this Meeting broke up.[1] —

(P. 135.) Albany 5 June 1723. The Commiss^rs^ for Indian Affairs Spoke to the Deputies of the Six Nations & reproached them with harbouring Jean Coeur the French Interpreter amongst them & giving him leave to build a Trading House at Kaskoghsago near Irondequat on Land (say they) *you long since resigned to the Crown of Great Britain.*

They desired to be excused giving an Answer to this Matter at present but will when their Deputies go to Boston.

16 June. Some farr Indians who used to Trade with the French [come] arrive at Albany with Furrs to Trade.

I find in the Act of Assembly made against the Canada Trade the Commiss^rs^ of Indian Affairs were empowered to administer a[n promise] Oath to such Persons as they suspected to be concerned in said Trade, w^ch^ they accordingly did to several among w^ch^ Three Persons are recorded to have refused taking the Oath.

12 July 1723. Sundry Indians from several remote Nations come to Albany to Trade & say they are Commissioned by Nations of Indian who live still beyond them to know whether the Road is free & Open for them to come to Albany. They say the French throw all the Stumbling Blocks they can in their way. —

[1] Previous to this Meeting & at it, it was publickly acknowledged by the Deputies from Boston & the 6 Nations that the latter were under the imediate Controll of this Gov^t^ that the other Colonies ought not to transact any public Buisness with them, nor they with Those without first making Application to this Gov^t^ this same Subordination was owned in the late Conferences between Virginia & Pensilvania & many of the like Occasions formerly. —

These Indians Complain & the Commiss^rs write the same to the Gov^r that the People at Schenectady (a Dutch Town or Town of Dutch ab^t 16 Miles from Albany thro which all Indians from the Westward must pass & where the Water Carriage ends) Steal their Furrs from them & that several Packs had been stole from the Indians w^ch they could never retrieve. Some of these Poor People came above 600 Miles — to be plundered by Dutchmen in One Town & Cheated by them in Another. And yet these Wretches most of them learn by heart a Catechism of near 300 Pages & will not miss Church two or three times on Sundays upon any Acc^t — but to get money.

Albany 9 Aug^t 1723. The Deputies of the Six Nations arrive in their way to Boston & speak to the Commiss^rs — They say agreably to Gov^r Burnets Instructions they had spoke to Jean Coeur to to demolish the Trading House built at Niagara on their Land, but that Jean Coeur had refused to do it unless he had the Gov^r of Canadas Orders. They say. We the (p. 136) Sachems [Sachems] and Representatives of the Six Nations being Twenty two in Number do now make our Complaint unto you that Jean Coeur the French Interpreter will not take away the House till he has orders from the Gov^r of Canada for so doing. —

In the months of Aug^t & Sep^r 1723. I find by the Records that the Eastern Indians had cut off a Town on the Frontiers of New England & were prosecuting the War more cruel than ever. that the Commiss^rs write Gov^r Burnet that they are certain the Gov^r of Canada is at the Bottom of this Affair & supplies them with Arms & Amunition & that he hopes to draw this Province into an Indian War & by that means obstruct our Trade with the farr Indians w^ch they say they are persuaded he will leave no Stone unturned to Destroy.

7 October. The Indian Deputies who went to Boston return & give the Commiss^rs an Acc^t of their Transactions in w^ch they say that the 6 Nations in Conjunction with the

Shagtakook & River Indians had taken up the Hatchet against the Eastern Indians, but that they think the Gov^{r} of New York & Canada should write to their respective Kings to direct all the Hostilities to cease in America when a general Peace is subsisting in Europe. —

18 Nov^{r}. The Commiss^{rs} having received Information that the Gov^{r} of Canada had sent Agents among the far or Western Indians to endeavour to prevail on them to assist the Eastern Indians [1] in their war upon New Eng^{d} Laur. Claasse the Interpreter is dispatched to the Sennekas Country to get some Indians there to carry Belts to the s^{d} far Indians in behalf of this Gov^{t} to dissuade them from joining with the s^{d} Eastern Indians.

22 Nov^{r} Several of the Schaakhook Indians having left their Settlement & retired to Canada the Commiss^{rs} sent for some of them to Albany to enquire the reason. They say that the Christians who are (p. 137) settled near them have encroached upon their Land & confined them to a Barren Spot w^{ch} will not maintain them & they desire they may be allotted another part they name w^{ch} is more fruitful

The Commiss^{rs} take no notice of their Complaint but they are sent back wth an Exhortation to endeavour to get their Country men back [2]

[1] how perfidious & Dishonourable this Conduct of the French was, is too obvious to need any particular Proof. It is not only a fresh Instance of their National Character in Politics, but a convincing Argument how much the Proceedings of this Gov^{t} with regard to the Indian Affairs alarmed them. They saw how fatal the Consequences would be to their vast Designs if we persisted & improved upon our Measures w^{ch} had we done at this Juncture, I am persuaded a Mortal Stab would have been given to the French Influence & Trade amongst the Indians to the Westward & Southward of Lake Ontario.

[2] I met with some Complaints of this kind in the former part of the Records but as these Indians are now become a Scattered few I did not think it very necessary to take notice of their Affairs. but this cruel & unjust Treatment of these poor people who were the Antient Proprietors of the Soil of the Greatest part of the County of Albany & ever faithful Friends to the first Settlers, is a Notorious Proof what a set of real Barbarians the New Inhabitants were, I suppose the Poverty & weakness of these poor People was the Cause of the Injustice they suffered.

I find by the Commiss^rs Letters to Gov^r Burnet that he had a Suspicion they the Commiss^rs employed their Influence to hinder the Six Nations from assisting the Gov^t of Boston in their War against the Eastern Indians. It is certain from their own Letters that they were very much against engaging the Six Nations in an Indian War — What were all the particular Reasons for Gov^r Burnets Suspicions dos not appear they Commiss^rs deny any such Practices. but from the general & hereditary Character of the Albanians, where there private Interest is concerned there are few things too Scandalous to suppose them guilty of. —

Albany 25 Feb^ry 1723/4. the Commiss^rs are informed that [several] some Persons either from Massachittets Bay or Connetecut were purchasing Lands from the Indians without a Licence from Gov^r Burnet w^ch was contrary to a Proclamation Issued on that Subject

4 May 1724. Two principal Sachems of the Sennekas appeared before the Commiss^rs & accquainted them, that the Sachems of Onondaga had sent Deputies to the Gov^r of Canada to accquaint him that they were affraid from the great Number of far Indians who passed thro their Country to go to Albany some Mischief might be comitted by some of them w^ch they should certainly revenge.

That the Gov^r of Canada replyed he had the same Fears & that there was one way to prevent it w^ch was for the 5 Nations to admit him to build Two Forts, One at Niagara & the other at the Mouth of Onondaga River at the Entrance into Cadaraqui Lake. (where Osswego is now built) & gave the s^d Messenger a Belt of Wampum to carry to the 5 Nations to enforce this Proposal. (P. 138.) The said Belt was produced at Onondaga & the Gov^r of Canadas Proposal debated by the Assembly there, to wit the Sachems of the Sennekas, the Cayouges, Tuscaroras, & Onondagas; the Oneida & Mohawk Sachems not being present.

But the s^d Assembly rejected the Belt & Proposal of the Gov^r of Canada, & it was resolved that the Belt

should be returned him & a Message sent to him that he should not be admitted to build any Fort on their Land. this resolution being afterward imparted to the Sachems of Onieda & the Mohawks was approved by them.[1] —

There was also information that Jean Coeur was coming up to Niagara to build a Fort there. —

Albany 10 June 1724. Several Sachems Deputed from Four Castles of Indians living in Canada arrive in consequence of a Belt of Wampum sent to them by the Commiss^{rs} to desire them to lay down the Hatchet against the People of N. Eng^{d} They say they will comply with our request & do accordingly lay down the Hatchet & will no more commit any Hostilities against the People of New Eng^{d} & will influence as much as is in their Power the other Indians to do the same.

The Commiss^{rs} Answered that they were well pleased to find they had complied with their request & by that means shown their Disposition to preserve that Harmony w^{ch} had so long subsisted between them & this Gov^{t}.

Obs^{n} / I shrewedly suspect that as the prohibition of y^{e} Trade to Canada had occasioned a great scarcity of Goods there. the real Intent of the Indians Journey to Albany was to purchase Goods & that this laying down the Hatchet was but a specious pretense for the Gov^{r} of Canada has them so absolutely under his command that without his Consent their making Peace or a Neutrality would not signifie. These Indians are the Brokers or Factors & Carriers for the French & the Albany People in their neutral Trade. —

(P. 139.) Albany ^{po} July 1724. The Commiss^{rs} proposed to the Sachems of the 6 Nations that they should choose out proper Deputies to go once more to Boston to endeavour to settle a Peace between that Gov^{t} & the Eastern Indians

[1] dos not this prove the French were concious these Parts where they wanted to build Forts belonged to the 5 Nations, & it is certain the Indians had annexed these parts of their Country in particular to the Crown of G^{t} Britain as has been often mentioned. however the French have now Two Forts One at Niagara the other at the Head of Lake Erie. both on that Land annexed to the Crown.

& in pursuance thereof should imediately dispatch proper Messages to the Eastern Indians to send Deputies to Boston to meet them there & if they would not comply herewith & make Peace upon reasonable Terms that the 6 Nations should send them word they would oblige them to do it Sword in hand.

The 6 Nations say will comply with this Request of the Commiss^{rs}

14 July Several Far Indians arrive to Trade with Bever &^{c} & say the French used every Artifice in their Power to prevent their coming to Albany & had by promises & Threatenings prevailed upon 30 Canoes of Indians to go to Canada who had never been at Albany & intended to have come with them hither

7 Aug^{t} Several Indians of the Kenondadie Nation to the westward come to Albany to Trade.

17 Aug^{t} 1724. The Commiss^{rs} resolve to send Particular Messengers with Belts of Wampum to the Indians who deserted from Schaakkook to request them to return to their former habitations, they having made several [Indians] Inroads upon the Inhabitants of New England.[1]

Albany 15 September 1724. Gov^{r} Burnet meets the 6 Nations & makes them a Speech in w^{ch} he renews the Cov^{t} Chain with them in behalf of of this Colony & all the British Dominions in North America. he tells them that several Persons are willing to go & live up at the Mouth of Onondaga River in order to Trade with the far Indians & that he proposes for their Accomodation to build a Block house there & hopes & expects that the Six Nations will behave

[1] these Indians were once Numerous, Powerful & faithful Allies to this Gov^{t} & a Barrier to it on the N.E. towards Canada, & if they were drove away by the Injustice & Encroachments of the People who settled near them as their Complaint formerly mentioned seems to point out. It was no less Impolitick than Cruel & perfidious. For my own part I am of opinion that the Dutch of Albany & the adjacent Country have ever made an imediate temporary Interest their only rule.

like Bretheren to the people who are to (p. 140) go & settle there.[1]

The Six Nations Answer.

"This Town of Albany has been of old a place of Meeting & Treaty between us, & since that time it has been agreed that this should be the place only of Treaty not only between this Gov^{t} & us but with all our Neighbouring Colonies of North America to be a fixed & settled Place to treat of Peace & Tranquility & those who had any occasion to treat with us might come & meet us here."

They solommly renew the Cov^{t} not only in behalf of this Gov^{t} but all the British Dominions in North America.

They tell the Gov^{r} his kindness to them exceeds that of his Predecessors. *That Trade is the cheapest Motive to promote Friendship.*[2]

They are well pleased with his Excellencys Design of building a Block house at the Mouth of Onondaga River & say if those who settle there will sell as Cheap as they do at Albany it will prove a Bever Trap & catch all the Bever.

But they propose the intended Block House to be at the End of the Oneida Lake & desire the Gov^{rs} Opinion thereon.

The 19 Sep^{r} 1724. Gov^{r} Burnet made Answer to the above Speech of the Six Nations viz.

I always like to hear your Answers that come from yourselves but I do not like the Answers w^{ch} the Traders here put into your Mouths, for they neither love you nor me, but mind only their own Profit, & therefore I expect that for the future you make all your Answers yourselves & never (p. 141) Advise with any of these Traders what you shall say for I can always find out what is your own & what comes from them.

[1] This Block house is now the Trading House w^{ch} is called the Fort at Oswego ab^{t} 300 Miles from Albany, as I have been informed by an Lieu^{t} of the Indep^{t} Companys lately posted there, in a poor condition & little capable of making any great Defence, & from a rough Plan of it given me by M^{r} Evans the Map maker there is a high hill within Musket Shot of it w^{ch} overlooks & commands it.

[2] The Indians frequently repeat that Trade was the foundation of their Alliance or Connexions with us & that it is the chief Cement w^{ch} binds us together. And this should undoubtedly be the first Principle of our whole System of Indian Politics.

As to the Block house it must be at the Onondagas River Mouth & not at the Oniedas Lake for the far Indians pass only at the Mouth of the said River & do not come up to the Oniedas Lake, so that the Bever Trap would then be so far off that it would catch no Bevers at all, And this a thing the Traders put into your head on purpose that the Bevers may all go to Canada where they had rather Trade with the French than with you, by w^ch^ you may see they are not your Friends.

Another false story they have put into your heads is, that Goods should be as cheap at the Onondagas Country as here w^ch^ they know cannot be for then there would be no allowance made for the Trouble of carrying them w^ch^ however I will order them to make as small as they can afford it.

I am always ready to show you what kindness I can but I will not suffer my People who are under my Gov^t^ to put Notions into your heads contrary to my Desires for your Good & if I knew them I would punish them for their Presumption in doing it, so that I must expect from you as a proof of your thankfulness to me that you will be advised in these things by none but me & these Officers whom I think fit to appoint & then we shall always remain good Bretheren.[1]

N. B. That influence w^ch^ private Persons from their own Selfish & Lucrative views have upon the public Speeches of the Indians w^ch^ Gov^r^ Burnet above complains of, is more or less the Case in most Conferences to this day. the Indians where they do not perceive their imediate Interest are easily persuaded to speak according as it dictated to them, & few of their public Speeches are the genuine produce of (p. 142) their own Wills & Sentiments, they often unknowingly enter into the Personal Views & resentments of others, this Collusion with the Indians very often misleads

[1] The above is faithfully extracted from the Gov^rs^ Speech as recorded, & seems to me an incontestible proof in Point with how much Justice I have Attempted to Delineate the Character of these Albany Traders in the Strictures to these Abstracts. They are People from whom I have received no Personal Injury & towards whom I am not conscious if any ungrounded Prejudice. My reflections arise from Facts against them, their well-known Character & my sense of & Love for the Public Good, to w^ch^ they have (in general) been & I am affraid are still [Insensebl] Insensible.

a Gov^{r} & injures the Public. Methods might be found out to prevent or at least to obviate these indirect & scandalous Proceedings were we provided with Interpreters upon whose Integrity [we] a dependance could be made, but they are often partys in the Case or bought or influenced to be such, They live at Albany & are Dutchmen. The present Colony Interpreter is the Son of a Negro Woman & I know understands neither Dutch nor English Well, I have tried him in both Languages & have with great Difficulty been able to make Sense out of his Interpretation in either Language. The Interpreter ought in my opinion to have a handsome Salary & be a Man of Substance & Character to be upon Oath neither to be concerned directly nor Indirectly in any Indian Trade, & if possible not to reside within the Air of Albany & every time he acts as public Interpreter to have the Oaths renewed to him &^{c} &^{c}

In this Conference I find Gov^{r} Burnet reminds the Indians of their Promise to take up the Hatchet against the Eastern Indians if they continued to refuse their Mediation between the Gov^{t} of Boston & them. The Eastern Indians still continued the War & Boston Commiss^{rs} were now at Albany to apply to the Six Nations to join them in the s^{d} War against the Eastern Indians, the Gov^{r} calls on them to fulfill their Promises & assist the People of Boston.

how this affair was settled between the Boston Commiss^{rs} & the 6 Nations the Records do not mention nor anything further upon that Subject.

By the Commiss^{rs} Letter to Gov^{r} Burnet dated the 3^{d} of October 1724. I find the 6 Nations refused to take up the Hatchet in favour of the Gov^{r} of Boston & advised the Commiss^{rs} to make Peace on the best Terms they could.

I find the Trade to Canada is carried on in Spight of the Law & penalty to the Contrary, & that the Commiss^{rs} are very suspicious that Perjury is made use of to evade the Penalty. the following is Extracted from a Letter they wrote Gov^{r} Burnet on the Subject.

(P. 143.) Albany 12 Octo^{r} 1724 —

Sir

" Our last was the 3^{d} Inst whereto we take leave to refer. M^{r} Hansen & Cornelis Cuyler are returned from Canada & since their arrival are brought to this Place 114 packs of Bever besides Deer Skins & several Canoes yet expected w^{ch} we suppose cant be for Christian Goods only. the Sherrif has a Warrant to apprehend the s^{d} Hansen & Cuyler to bring them before this Board in order to tender them the Oath provided by Act of Gen^{l} Assembly for preventing Illegal Trade with the Subjects of the French King.

" The first has been brought before us who has taken the s^{d} Oath, the last keeps close & not yet to be taken, until (as We suppose) he sends another parcell of Strouds by this party of Indians now in Town & how People can take the said Oath (is surprizing) who received large Quantities of Bever, for its plain the French covet nothing more than Strouds & by what we can learn will sufficiently be supplied for the next Season, which will wholly evade *your Excell^{cys} good Purposes to promote a Trade with the far Indians*. how to prevent this Pernicious Trade is a great Mystery to us, but find its not in our power since a few Men break thro the severest Laws that can be invented for the Good & Prosperity of this Province in general, tho we shall resolve to tender the said Oath to whole Families among whom any may be suspected & if it cannot be found out & prevented by that Method, we with Submission shall then be at a Loss how to act further, for its plain that Strouds is transported to Canada. — "

Albany 16 March 1724/5 Some French Indians arrive at Albany & inform the Commiss^{rs} that their Gov^{r} had heard of the Trading House w^{ch} Gov^{r} Burnet had got the consent of the 6 Nations to build at the Mouth of the Onondaga's River & that he threatened if such a House was built he would come & demolish it. And that the S^{d} Gov^{r} had sent Carpenters & Materials to build a Fort at Niagara & Two Vessells to be built & employed on Cadaraqui Lake to fetch & carry Bever thro the said Lake from the falls of Niagara.

The Commiss^rs transmit this Intelligence to Gov^r Burnet & they say if the French are suffered to build this Fort at Niagara it will defeat all his Excell^cys Intentions with regard to the increase of the Indian Trade of this Colony. They say we are of Opinion that £100 — in presents to prevent this Building of the French will go further now than £1000 — after its made. We take also leave to repeat what (p. 141) we s^d in our former of the 7 Jan^ry last that a Settlement at Irondequat would be of Service for it seems plain to us that if no Settlement be made among the 5 Nations we will in process of time loose most of our best & trusty Indians & then in Course all the Trade.

Albany 3^d May 1725. Commiss^rs from the Gov^t of Boston having been sent to Mons^r Vaudruiel Gov^r Gen^l of Canada in order to remonstrate to him upon the War w^ch the Eastern Indians carry on against the Inhabitants of Boston Gov^t stop in their return at Albany & Accquaint the Commiss^rs of the following particulars —

That Mons^r Vaudruil told them, he had been informed that the Gov^r of New York intended to build a Block house at the Mouth of the Onondaga River, that he should look upon such a proceeding as an infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht & would certainly demolish any such Building.

That he could at any time set the five Nations (who were expressly named in the Treaty of Utrecht as depending on the British Dominions) upon the English to kill & Captivate his Majesties Subjects. They say further.

That Mons^r Vaudruiel has by himself or others so far instigated the Abnequois Indians as to make demands on the Gov^t of the Massachusetts of 30 Leagues on the Sea Coast all within the Grant of that Province from the Crown of Great Britain & in w^ch has been settled several Towns & many hundreds of Inhabitants & Forts built by order from home & some of them possessed upwards of 80 years, altho the same has been fairly purchased & possessed as aforesaid.

And on asking these Indians how far their demand was Eastward their Answer was in the presence of Mons[r] Vaudruiel, *the whole Country of Lacadie* or Nova Scotia excepting only the Fort of Anapolis Royal notwithstanding the said Country of Laccadia belongs to the British Crown. & these unreasonable Indians were countenanced by the said Gov[r] & a numerous Company of French.

The s[d] Indians told us plainly they would have no Peace unless all the s[d] Land was delivered up &[c]

We demanded an Answer from the s[d] Gov[r] of Canada in writing w[ch] he refused, & denied that he had encouraged the said Indians in the War, tho we had his own Letters in our hands to prove he had.

Albany the 5 June 1725. Gov[r] Burnet not being able to meet the 6 Nations this year at Albany, directs the Commiss[rs] to send a Message to them of it & that if they have any Matters of Consequence to communicate to send Deputies to the Commiss[rs] at Albany. Laur. Claasse the Interpreter is sent up with this Message to Onondaga & also to tell (p. 142) The Six Nations that Gov[r] Burnet does not intend to build a Fort at the Mouth of Onondaga River but only a Trading House. —

11 June 1725. Laur. Claasse returns from Onondaga & reports that the Indians were well pleased with the Message he bro[t] them & said they had nothing against building a House for promoting Trade.[1]

They also accquainted him what Mons[s] Longviele had said to them. That he was sent by the Gov[r] of Canada to renew & strengthen the Treaty of Peace & Friendship between them, w[ch] was solemnly done on both sides. he accquainted them that he was going to Irondequat, thence to the Sennekas Country & thence to Niagara where he proposed to have a good Strong House built for

[1] I find the Indians were much alarmed about the Block House mentioned in Gov[r] Burnets last conference with the 6 Nations. whether the French had raised this ferment amongst them, or the Canada Traders at Albany or both together, the Records do not explain; but the latter is my Opinion.

Trade & to build Two Vessells on the Lake Ontario for the Transportation of Goods to & from the said Trading House. —

It is not recorded what Answer the Indians made to this Speech of Mons[r] Longeville. —

19 June 1725 — A Sachem from the Janondadies a Nation of Indians living near a French Settlement called Detroit between Lake Huron & Lake Erie appears before the Commiss[rs] & tells them he is sent in the Name of their Nation to thank this Gov[t] for the Invitation sent them & the other upper Nations to come & Trade at Albany & in consequence of their accepting & approving the said Invitation he gives a Belt of Wampum.

12 Aug[t] The Commiss[rs] write Gov[r] Burnet that several Sachems of the 6 Nations (they are informed) are gone to Canada to treat with the Gov[r] & that some conjecture its to sell the Land & fall on Onondaga River where our People trade with the far Indians.

They say they do what lays in their power to prevent the illegal Trade to Canada but find it to little purpose for Strouds they are informed are plentifully conveyed to the French as well by way of Onondaga River as directly from Albany to Montreal.[1]

We shall (say they) have a hard struggle to get an exact (p. 143) Account of what Bever & Skins have been got by the Western Trade we are informed the profit of these Traders is considerable & that the Number Skins is above trebble what has come from Canada.

The 2[d] September 1725. The Commiss[rs] write the Gov[r] the most exact List they could obtain of the Quantity of Bever & Furs w[ch] have been brought to Albany by the Traders with the Far or Western Indians this last Spring & Sum-

[1] The Penalty of £100 — upon being convicted of sending Strouds to Canada did not deter some, who paid it & yet found it a profitable Trade, Others swore themselves off, much to the astonishment of the Commiss[rs] as mentioned in the above extract of their Letter to the Gov[r] pag 143. They seem to suspect some of Perjury & I am of their Opinion.

mer.[1] by w^ch^ List it appears. That — 52 Cannoes & near 100 Persons had been employed in Trade with the farr Indians many of w^ch^ Persons had made Two Trips & that above 788. Bundles of Skins had been brought to Albany. Besides w^ch^ the Commiss^rs^ say they are informed 43 Cannoes with farr Indians who by computation have brought 200 Bundles of Bever & Furs to Albany & Schenectady this last Summer.

And that from Canada has only come to Albany to the above date of their Letter 176 Bundles of Bever & Deer Skins.

10 Sep^r^ Seven hands of Wampum are sent to the Commiss^rs^ by the Canada Indians that they propose being at Albany by the first of Octo^r^ & desire Our Gov^r^ The Gov^r^ of Boston & the representatives of the 6 Nats. to meet them there. This Intelligence the Commiss^rs^ transmit to the Gov^r^ of Boston & accquaint him that they are of Opinion this Meeting is desired in Order to put a final End to the War between that Gov^t^ & the Eastern Indians, for they are informed the Indians grow quite tired of it & would long ago have made Peace had they not been supported & instigated to the Contrary by the Gov^r^ of Canada & the Priests. —

26 Sep^r^ 1725. Twelve Sachems of the Onondagas Cayouges & Tuscaroras come to Albany & in the Name of all the Six Nations conplain of the Pouder that is sold them, they say it is so bad it will hardly give any report, & that if their Guns have been charged with it one night they wont go off in the Morning. They say it is a great Cheat to sell a Commodity that is not good especially Pouder w^ch^ is their Chief Support.

They complain that Rum is so plentifully sold at the Trading House at Oswego, as Debauches their Young Men & renders them incapable of Order & Obedience And

[1] The list is detailed, giving the names of the individual traders and the number of skins obtained by each. — Ed.

they design that Pouder may be sold them instead of Rum. —

The Commiss^{rs} Answer, they are sorry for the Complaint of the (p. 144) Pouder & that they would desire the Gov^{r} to write the King to order better Pouder to be made.

That they should have Pouder & Lead sold at Oswego but as to Rum the Traders were obliged to carry some or the far Indians would not Trade with them.

Albany 10 October 1725 — Six Sachems as Deputies from the 6 Nations arrive at Albany & Accquaint the Commiss^{rs} — That they are come to complain of the Sale of Strong Liquors at the New Trading House built at Onondaga River's Mouth, & they desire the Sale of Rum there may be forbid as it occasions Bloodshed, Quarrels & Confusion amongst their People, that if the far or other Indians want rum they may come to Albany to fetch it.

They exhort us to live in Peace & Quiet with the French & carry on our Trade without Molesting each other. They say, *they have given the French Liberty of free Passage thro Lake Ontario.*

They say the Gov^{r} told them the way to Canada was stopped up so that no Strouds should be carried thither, but they find Strouds have been carried to Onondaga River & there sold to the French w^{ch} they will further declare when they meet the Gov^{r} next Spring.

The Commiss^{rs} Answer that they will accquaint His Excellency with this their Message.

12 Feb^{ry} 1725/6 The Commiss^{rs} being informed that the Six Nations expected an Answer to their Above Message about Selling Rum at Onondaga & if they dont receive One are detirmined to put their Resolutions in force, and the Commiss^{rs} finding it impossible to prevent Rum being carried up there in order to push a Trade with the far Indians, they dispatch Laur Claasse the Interpreter to Onondaga to accquaint the 6 Nations that the Trade with the far Indians cannot be carried on without Rum,

but that none should be sold to [the] any of the Six Nations & that the Gov^{r} expects they will not molest the Traders who are going up & that when he meets them at Albany he will endeavour to settle this Affair to their Satisfaction.

The Interpreter is also instructed that if he hears confirmed that some French are settled in the Sennecas Country he is to proceed thither in order to enquire for what Ends & Designs they are suffered to live there.

16 March Laurence Claasse returns & reports to the Commiss^{rs} that (p. 145) The Sachems of the Mohowks told him that they could give no Liberty that Rum should be sold to the farr Indians in their Country but promised they would neither hinder or molest any of the farr Indians or Traders in their going up or coming down —

That the Sachems of Oneida, Onondaga & Cayouga told him that Deputies were gone up from them to the Sennecas Country where a French Smith & his Family was settled & that there he would receive Answers to his Message to w^{ch} they referred him —

That on his arrival at the Sennecas Country he found there the Deputies of the 4 Nations who being in Council sent for him, & told him, (after he had spoke to them according to his Instructions) that they had found so many fatal Effects from the Traders selling Rum in their Countrys that they would not give their Consent to it, & gave him a Belt of Wampum for the Commiss^{rs} as a Solemn Token that they desired there might be an Absolute Prohibition of bringing rum in their Country for the Far Indians, & that they & all others who wanted it might go to Albany to fetch it.

That he found a french Smith with his Wife & Children, an Assistant & Three French Men as Residents amongst the Sennecas whom they say were put upon them unawares.

They desire to meet the Gov^{r} next early in the Spring to confer with him on Matters of Great Importance.

That he was informed by a trusty Indian that the French had obtained Leave from the Onondagas to build a Trading House on the West side of Jagara River w^ch^ vents itself into the Cadaraqui Lake on the South side thereof in the Passage of the Indians to Albany. —

The 18 March the Commiss^rs^ transmit to the Gov^r^ a Copy of Laurence Claasse's Report to them & in their Letter write thus. —

" We are humbly of Opinion that it is a Matter of the last Consequence to this Province that no Care [be] is taken to prevent the French [to] from resid^g^ among our Indians, And that no Person of Ability with a Number of Men be sent to dwell continually among them; We hope the Assembly will please to consider of a Fund to defray the Charge without w^ch^ it appears plain to us that the French get daily more footing & our Interest decreases w^ch^ at last may end in our Destruction " —

(P. 146.) The 21. April 1726. I find Major Abraham Schuyler was by Gov^r^ Burnets Orders Dispatched amongst the 6 Nations as a Resident amongst them to watch the Motions of the French, to support our Trade with the Far Indians & to prevent the Traders from abusing & imposing on them &^c^

the 27 April in a Letter of the Commiss^rs^ to Gov^r^ Burnet I find this paragraph.

" We hear of many that are gone to Trade to the Westward even to the Number of 50 Canoes. People encourage that Trade now to emulation even those who were at first against it."

the 8 June 1726. the Commiss^rs^ write the follow^g^ Letter to Gov^r^ Burnet. May it please your Excellency.

It is with no little Concern that the Intelligence we had from Montreal & we informed y^r^ Excell^cy^ with, that the French are sending up a Number of Men to Jagara (Niagara) There are now 120 Men as Major Abraham Schuyler Advises us, And now we have an acc^t^ that the Two Vessells built by the French at Cadaraqui passed by the Mouth of Onondaga River bound to Jagara with

Lime &c to make the above Building, this may & we humbly conceive will prove of fatal Consequence to this Province in particular & very destructive to the Fur Trade, by what we are assured that this Building is to be at the South side of Jagara River where is a good Harbour for Vessells & conveniently sittuated to intercept all the Fur Trade of the Upper Nations & even of our Sennecas who must pass by that place as they come from their Hunting who cant avoid passing by that place or so near it that the French there will trade with them. they are to have a large Store of Goods there for Supplying the Indians.

We hope your Excellcy will be pleased to take such Measures as your Excellcy in your great Wisdom shall seem most proper to frustrate the French pernicious Designs in putting up this Building on Land belonging to the Indians. We are assured that 400 Men of the Militia at Montreal are detached to be ready on the first Notice to go up to Jagara if the Indians should restrain them from making that Building. By this & their other Vigilant Actions it appears plain to us that they will use their utmost Endeavours to prevent us from having any Trade at all from any Indians settled about Jagara (p. 147) or about the Lake of Cadaraqui. how this agrees with the Treaty of Commerce your Excellcy may best judge. —

Albany 2d Sepr 1726. Govr Burnet arrives at Albany to Confer with the Deputies of the Six Nations.

7 Sepr Govr Burnet has a private Conferrence with Two Sachems of each of the Six Nations. The Subject of the Conferrence was upon the leave said to be given by some Onandaga Sachems to the French to build the Fort at Niagara.

The Onondaga Sachems say that last year when Monsr Longeville was amongst them he complained that his House at Niagara was grown old & rotten & spoiled his Goods & desired leave of them a New House there to keep

his Goods dry, & that if they would consent to his Building said House & to heve Vessells on Cadaraqui Lake it should be for their Good, Peace, & Quietness & for their Childrens Children that the French would protect them 300 Years —

They say they did not foresee the ill consequence of this permission of building a House & when they granted it they desired Mons^r^ Longeville would not deceive them as the French had done in building a Fort instead of a House at Cadaraqui w^ch^ had been the Occasion of a War between them. Mons^r^ Longeville replyed they need not fear any Mischief from this Building.

The Gov^r^ asked them if the Land at Niagara belonged to the Onondagas or to the Sennecas. All the Sachems acknowledged that not only the Land at Niagara but the Land on the other side of Cadaraqui Lake belonged to the Sennecas.[1] —

And the Onondagas acknowledged that when Mons^r^ Longeville was in their Country, the Sennecas who were aware of his Designs sent a Belt of Wampum to them to forewarn them not to give the French leave to make any Building or Settlement (p. 148) at Niagara or at Oswego or elsewhere upon their Land. —

And the said Onondaga Sachems acknowledge that they did very wrong in giving this Leave to the French & had better have let it alone to the Sennecas whose Land it is, & that they Repent of it.

They say that it is customary among their Tribes for One to Negotiate Business with any other People w^ch^ if afterwards approved of by the other Tribes stands good, but if not the Transaction is null & void, And that in this Affair their Proceedings were disapproved by the rest of their Confederate Tribes & therefore of no Force. —

[1] this Land on the other side of Cadaraqui Lake is the Land principally meant, by that Land w^ch^ we conquered above 80 years ago where the Bever Hunting is, mentioned in that Indian Deed so often quoted in y^e^ year 1701. Surrendered to the Crown & annexed to this Province

The Onondagas say that Mons^{r} Longeville cajolled & imposed upon them & got this Liberty from them by his Artifices & fair Speeches.

All the Sachems say that when they found the French were proceeding in this Building at Niagara they dispatched Two Sachems with a Belt of Wampum in the name of all the Six Nations to the French at Niagara to forbid them to proceed with their Building & protested against their proceedings there. —

That the French answered they could not desist from their Building being ordered by the Gov^{r} of Canada to proceed, & that they had the Consent of the 6 Nations for doing it. That Jean Coeur the French Interpreter was going to Montreal & would tell the Gov^{r} of their Message, but threw their Belt back & rejected it. The Messengers denied their having leave from the Six Nat^{s} & desired the French to name the Sachems who gave them this Liberty, to this the French would make no Answer but said when the House was finished there would be 30 Soldiers placed in it.

They complain to the Gov^{r} that the Traders who come in their Country do cheat them very much in the Sale of Rum instead of w^{ch} they sell them their own Water w^{ch} in a Day or two stinks & is noisome. —

Gov^{r} Burnet then Accquainted the Sachems that he had wrote the Gov^{r} of Canada the following Letter upon the Subject of their Building at Niagara.

sent to Canada by M^{r} Philip Livingston.

Sir Amboy 5 July 1726 —

I have heard a Report from Persons who have been among the 5 Nations that there are One hundred French at (p. 149) Niagara who were begining to build a Fort there with a Design to Shut up the 5 Nations & to hinder the other Indians to pass freely to trade with us as they used to do. I thought myself Obliged to signify to you how much I am surprized at such an undertaking so contrary to the Treaty of Peace made at Utrecht, wherein it is Stippulated that the 5 Nations should remain to the English, & the French should not in any ways Molest them, And that all the Indians in America should enjoy the Liberty to fre-

quent each of the Two Nations on Acc^{t} of Trade without any hinderhance. I beleive also that the 5 Nations will always maintain that the Land at Niagara belongs to them and that the French have never in the Time of M^{r} De La Salle nor since undertaken to do anything in that Place without consent of the Sennacas; And since the French have by the last Peace yeilded the 5 Nations to us, it follows from thence, that they have no Pretensions on the Land of those Nations. I hope Sir after you have seriously considered what I have the honour to represent to you that you will take care that nothing be done contrary to the Treaties & the perfect Union w^{ch} is at present established between the Two Crowns by the last Alliance. If this Fortification goes on I shall find myself Obliged to represent it to my Court to the end that the Court of France being well informed of this Affair may give their Orders thereupon, As I have heard say they have already given to understand that they blame Mons^{r} Vaudruiel for the share he has had in the War of the Eastern Indians. —

The Gov^{r} told the Sachems that he expected an Answer to this Letter but a new Gov^{r} being come to Canada they had no time to write. —

The Gov^{r} had next read & interpreted to them the 15 Articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, & told them the Question now was if the Building at Niagara was not prejudicial to them, to their Hunting & to the far Indians coming to Albany on Account of Trade; If they say it is no hinderance to them to go a hunting or to the far Indians coming to them, His Excell^{cy} has nothing to say & the French have done well, but if they find it prejudicial & complained of it to His Excell^{cy} he offers to represent it to His Majesty & that now they might say what they judge best for themselves. They then said.

Brother Corlaer

You have asked us several Questions w^{ch} we answered & you have accquainted us with what News you know & Now you ask if we approve of the Building at Niagara, (p. 150) We do not only complain against the Proceedings of the French [at] in fortifying Niagara on our Land contrary to our Inclination & without our Consent taken us up from our chief hunting

Places, but we also humbly beg & Desire that y^r^ Excell^cy^ will be pleased to write to His Majesty King George that he may have Compassion on us & to write to the King of France to order his Gov^r^ of Canada to remove the Building at Niagara for we think it very prejudicial to us all.

His Excell^cy^ told them that he expected what they had now said they would repeat in a public Manner.

Thus this remarkable Conferrence ended, &^c^

Albany 9 Sep^r^ 1726. Gov^r^ Burnet makes his Public Speech to the Six Nations in w^ch^ he gives them an Historical Narration of the Dissimulation, Perfidy & Cruelty with w^ch^ the French had treated them in former times & refers to their own Memories for many recent Instances of the same; he then reminds them of the Conduct of this Gov^t^ to them by way of Contrast.

he tells them he is informed the French are now building a Strong House or Fort of Stone at Niagara. he desires to know to whom that Land belongs & if the Six Nations have consented to the Building of this Fort as the French aledge & he tells them he has this Afternoon received a Letter from Mons^r^ Longeville in w^ch^ he Says the Six Nations did unanimously give their Consent to the Building this Fort in a full Council at Niagara the 14 July last. He desires to know whether they are not apprehensive this Fort will [not] molest them in their Hunting & restrain the Communication between them & the far Indians. he then writes to them & expatiates upon the 15 Articles of the Treaty of Utrecht —

13 Sep^r^ 1726. The Six Nations return their Public Answer to the above Speech of Gov^r^ Burnets. In answer to Mons^r^ Longeville's assertion they say, "We have been at Niagara in the Name of the Six Nations to speak to the Gov^r^ of Canada & told him to desist from making any Building there."

As to their Apprehensions concerning this Fort & in consequence of the 15 Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, they say

We speak in the Name of all the Six Nations & come to you howling, this is the reason for what we howl, that the Gov^{r} of Canada incroaches on our Land & builds thereon, therefore we do come to our Brother Corlaer & desire you will be pleased to write to the King Your (p. 151) Master & if your King will then be pleased to write to the King of France that the Six Nations desire that the Fort at Niagara may be demolished. this Belt we give to you our Bro^{r} as a Token that you be not negligent to write to the King, the sooner the better, & desire the Letter may be wrote very pressing.

They say Jean Coeur the French Interpreter is soon expected at Onondaga & they desire the Gov^{r} will send a Man of Experience [1] there at the same time to act on behalf of this Gov^{t} —

After the public Conferrences were ended I find Gov^{r} Burnet had another Private Conferrence with some Senneca, Cayouge & Onondaga Sachems, & proposed to them that as a further Measure to prevent the French from encroaching upon their Land, they should now do what they had proposed to do ab^{t} 25 years ago, namely to give up all their Hunting Country to the King & to sign a Deed for it, w^{ch} (say the Records) however has not been done —

It is recorded — After a consultation among themselves, that they would rather have this Deed of Surrender & Submission include all their Castles.

More of this Affair is not recorded.

(N. B.) M^{r} Pownall who came over Secretary to S^{r} Danvers Osborne told me that he had seen in the Possession of the Board of Trade the Above mentioned Deed signed by the Indians & w^{ch} was proposed by themselves to Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Nanfan the 19 July 1701. pag 36 & 37 — of these Abstracts.[2]

[1] by a Man of Experience they Mean some Person who is no Trader, for the Indians hold the Traders in great Contempt as a Set of Mean Dishonest Mercenary Fellows & w^{ch} Character they have drawn from Dear bought Experience. Co^{l} Johnson who now lives in the Mohawk Country is the only Trader I have ever heard they held in any veneration, him they much Esteem.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 39–41. — Ed.

Before Gov^{r} Burnets departure from Albany he appointed Cap^{t} Evert Banker to reside among the Sennecas to watch the Motions of the French. And I find some time after the Assembly raised a Sume of Money to build the Fort now standing at Oswego. —

I find also that the New Gov^{r} of Canada incouraged (p. 152) The Eastern Indians who were disposed to Peace to continue the War against New England, at the same time Intelligence came that he was marching an Army to Lake Cadaraqui to destroy our Building at the Mouth of Onondaga River & to prevent our fortifying at Osswego.

From the foregoing Conferences of Gov^{r} Burnet with the 6 Nat^{s} at Albany I find little in the Records but proceedings of the Commissioners about Building the Fort at Osswego & their Correspondance with Gov^{r} Burnet on that Subject —

In Jul^{y} 1727. Mons^{r} Lassasange Gov^{r} of Trois Rivieres arrived at Albany & went down to New York to confer with our Gov^{r} (as we supposed) about our Building a Fort at Osswego.

{ I shall examine the Minutes of Council of this date & if they take Notice of anything worth remarking upon this Visit of the French Gov^{r} I shall add it by way of Appendix }

26 July 1726. Two Canoes of Cachnawaga Indians arrive at Albany & inform the Commiss^{rs} that the Gov^{r} of Canada was greatly alarmed & provoked at our Building at Osswego & was preparing a Force to destroy our Work there.

That he had used his utmost Endeavours to stir up all the Indians as well his Own as the 6 Nations against the English. had told them that the King of Great Britain had been Three years solliciting the King of France to join with him in destroying all the Indians but that he had rejected his Proposals —

he proposed to His Indians to go & Murder some Persons ab^{t} Albany or Osswego — w^{ch} they rejected.

The s^d^ Indian who gave the above Information s^d^ he & several Others were inclined to leave Canada & come & live in this Gov^t^ if they could have Land alotted them & a Minister w^ch^ the Commiss^rs^ accquaint the Gov^r^ with & say if such a thing could be Effected it would be a great Security & Service to this Province.

(P. 153.) Albany the 4 Aug^t^ 1727. The Sachems of the Eastern Indians arrive at Albany to fix a Peace & Friendship with this Colony & accquaint the Commiss^rs^ that others of their Sachems are gone to Boston in order to make & settle Peace with that Gov^t^ — The Commiss^rs^ receive them kindly accept their offers of Peace & Friendship &^c^

5 Aug^t^ Two Senneca Sachems accquaint the Commiss^rs^ that they have been among the Western or far Nations in order to bring them into the Interest of this Gov^t^ & say they have prevailed over 4 Tribes or Nations & were in hopes of including many others into a Trade & Friendship with this Gov^t^ —

10 Aug^t^ Cap^t^ Bancker comes down to Albany sick from Osswego — Two others are sent up to supply his Place & to be present at a Gen^l^ Meeting w^ch^ is to be held at Onondaga where it is supposed some Propositions from the French are to be debated.

15. Aug^t^ The officer with the Detachment from the Indep^t^ Companys return from Osswego several of them being sick & the rest would stay there no Longer.

5 Sep^r^ Laur. Claasse the Interpreter is dispatched to Onondaga to Accquaint the 6 Nations with the Death of His Majesty King George the First & the Succession of His present Majesty. Also to endeavour to prevent the Indians from going out to War against the Flat Heads, w^ch^ it is thought the French have put them upon to get them out of the Way in order better to carry on their Designs against Osswego

27 Dec^r^ the Commiss^rs^ receive Information that the Gov^r^ of Canada is instigating the Indians & making preparations

to destroy the House at Oswego. And that the Messengers sent by the Council at Onondaga to tell the French Indians to keep themselves Neuter in case the Gov^{r} of Canada makes any Attempts against Osswego had returned without going or delivering their Message. Upon w^{ch} Laur Claasse is dispatched to Onondaga to prevail on the Sachems there to send another Deputation to that purpose. —

6 Feb^{ry} 1727/8. a Cacknawaga Indian who formerly lived in Canada proposes to the Commiss^{rs} to go & settle on (p. 154) the Frontiers of this Province N. E. between Still Water & Saraghtoga with 50 Indians Squaes & Children. is encouraged by the Commiss^{rs} receive Presents & is promised to be supplied with Provisions till raise some of their own —

Laurence Claasse finds the Onondaga Indians Cold about sending Deputies to the French Indians & that they stand in Awe of the French & dare not openly appear against them in the Affair of Oswego

3^{d} March 1727/8 Advice comes to the Commiss^{rs} that a French Army of a Thousand Men were marched from Canada against Oswego upon w^{ch} an Express was sent to the 6 Nations to keep all their Men at home in readiness to oppose the Attempts of the French

1728 — Nothing of Moment till

Albany 20 Aug^{t} Gov^{r} Montgomerie sends Orders to the Commiss^{rs} [that he could] to accquaint the 6 Nations that he would meet them at Albany the first of October next ensuing.

1 October Gov^{r} Montgomerie meets the 6 Nations at Albany & makes his Speech to them. in w^{ch} he points out to them in a handsome & very just Manner the Virtues & Power of His present Majesty King George the 2^{d} his Affection & Esteem for the 6 Nations as an honest & Brave People. he tells them that he renews the Cov^{t} with them & desires to make it brighter than ever. — That the Necessary

Affairs of Gov^{t} had detained him at New York or he would have met them Sooner.

He commends them for refusing [the Fren] to join the French Army who were Marched against the Remote Indians.

he tells them he expects they are now convinced that the House & Garrison at Osswego is not only for their Benefit & Security but calculated to encrease our Trade & Connexions with the Far Indians, & therefore he doubts not but they will at all Times be ready to defend this Garrison against all Attempts w^{ch} may be made against it. he desires they will grant to the King a convenient Tract of Land near the s^{d} Garrison for the Support of the People & to pasture their Cattle.

he tells them he will take Care the Traders shall use them well & expects they will return good Usage to the Traders. —

(P. 155.) Albany 4 October 1728. The 6 Nations Answer Gov^{r} Montgomerie's Speech

They are pleased with his renewing & do on their side likewise renew the Cov^{t} Chain.

As to His Majesties Opinion of them as a Brave & honest People They say it is true, when the 6 Nations are sober & not in Drink they will not Molest & injure any Body. But Strong Liquor creates violence, Quarrels & Bloodshed amongst them, They earnestly desire therefore that the Traders may not bring any Rum amongst them, but that when any of the Indians want it they may come down to Albany to fetch it.

They say the Traders shall have a free & friendly Intercourse amongst them & be welcome except they bring Rum

They give full leave to Plant & sow about Oswego & to Pasture Cattle & that they will mark out Land for that Purpose but say they will not be pleased when it is done if we go beyond the Limits. As to their defending the House at Oswego against any Attempts w^{ch} may be made

against it, they say it was told them when Leave was desired to Build it, that it was Built to protect & defend the 6 Nations & they therefore depend upon the Promise being fulfilled.

They say they are convinced the French bear them no Friendship & they make no great Dependance upon them.

They promise to use their Endeavours to draw as many of the Far Indians as they can to Trade with us.

The Gov^{r} Answers that as to Rum being brought thro their Country, its absolutely necessary that some must be carried up for the use of the Garrison at Oswego & to refresh the People who go up there in their Journey, but he will do everything in his Power to prevent its being carried for Sale amongst them & desires they would inform against any Person who shall bring them Rum to sell.

As to their defending the Garrison at Osswego, he says nothing is more natural than for them to assist in the Defence of a Place w^{ch} is maintained for their Security.

The 5 October Gov^{r} Montgomerie has a private Conferrence with Two Sachems of each Nation. in w^{ch} they tell him that as to the Defence of Oswego, he seemed Displeased that (p. 156) They did not give a positive Answer to it in their public Speech Say they, We are one Body & one Heart & if any Attempt be made against the House at Oswego, how can you imagine that we should not defend it, for we have no Affection for the French who have been our Antient Enemies.

They propose a Magazine to be erected at Albany & to be furnished with Warlike Stores, that in case our Enemies should Attack us there may be Amunition &^{c} ready. —

They say as to Rum, they dont mean that none at all should be carried up, but that it should not be bro^{t} into any of their Castles w^{ch} the Traders do & entice their People to buy it. —

Let it be bro^{t} to Oswego, but let not the Traders mix Water with it, & let Guns & Amunition & real necessaries be sent to Oswego & not only Rum —

We desire if it be in your Power that Goods be sold us Cheaper.

They say they have made an Absolute Grant of Land to the King about Oswego, but they cannot fix the Quantity till they have consulted the other Sachems who are at home, they desire Laur. Claasse may go up with them & lay it out.

The Gov^{r} expresses his Satisfaction & Approbation of this further explaination of themselves & that all their Requests shall be complied with to the utmost of his Power. —

A Senneca Indian desires a Smith & an Armourer for their Nation w^{ch} the Gov^{r} promises but then insists they shall not suffer a French Smith to live amongst them.

Albany 5 October 1728. Gov^{r} Montgomerie Speaks to the Schaahook & River Indians —

he renews the Cov^{t} Chain with them & desires they will use their Endeavours to regain their Countrymen back who have deserted & settled in Canada

They Answer that they are very much rejoiced that the Gov^{r} had sent for them to renew the Cov^{t} & to perceive the Fire w^{ch} used to burn & was almost extinguished is kindled again —They say. It is somewhat difficult for us to encrease our Number at Shaahook. It is often recommended to us by those in authority (p. 157) here to settle there & bring those back who are gone to Canada for we can scarcely have the Land w^{ch} is promised us & are Molested on that w^{ch} is our own by People who live near us. We came home late last Spring from our Hunting & planted some Land, & now this Fall our Indian Corn has been carried away against our Wills by Force & Violence.[1]

[1] I have had occasion to remark upon the Injustice done these poor People in a former part of these Abstracts. The Villainy they complain of is such as one would scarcely expect from Human Nature in its utmost Degeneracy. the Immorality of it is not greater than the ill Policy. what an Idea must it give of us

The Gov^{r} Answers that if they will let him know the Peoples Names who have injured them, he will order Satisfaction to be given & the Aggressors punished.

Albany 22^{d} Feb^{ry} 1728/9. I find a [Proclamation] Notification from the Commiss^{rs} published against selling or carrying Rum into any of the Indian Castles.

14 April 1729. The Commiss^{rs} receive Intelligence that the French were preparing to Attack the Buildings at Oswego, upon w^{ch} they dispatch Laur. Claasse to the 6 Nations with Instructions that its expected they will post proper Deputies at Oswego to accquaint the French in case they come there, that the House was built by their Order & upon their Land & any Attempt to destroy it they will deem the same as an Attempt upon their own Castles.

7 May. Two Deputies arrive from the 6 Nations to accquaint the Gov^{r} & the Commiss^{rs} that they expect every day at Onondaga 300 Indians of the Nations called Makindus & Shawanoes who have sent word they will settle themselves among the 6 Nations & that a general Council is to be held at Onondaga in 7 or 8 days & they desire that one or two proper Persons may be sent there to represent this Gov^{t} That they are informed the Gov^{r} of Canada has raised an Army of 2000 Men w^{ch} he is to head himself but whither destined they have not learnt. —

Laur. Claasse the Interpreter is sent to Onondaga. —

(P. 158.) Albany 23 May 1729. Laur. Claasse returns from Onondaga & says that the News about the Two Nations who are said to be coming there, appears to be no more than the Sachems of those Nations are expected in July to renew their Cov^{t} with the 6 Nations

3^{d} June the Commiss^{rs} receive further information of the Grand Armament in Canada & that it is supposed to be intended against Osswego. They dispatch Spies into Canada to learn News

to the 6 Nations? And seeing the Consequence of our sole Dominion do they not court the French?

4 June. The Commiss^{rs} inform the Gov^{r} that they have recd intelligence that the Garrison at Osswego grow Mutinous at not being relieved as they say in due time & threaten to desert from the said Garrison & that Three Men have deserted & gone to the French Fort at Cadaraqui.

28 June Several Sachems of Two Nations of far Indians come to fix a Trade at Albany to make a Treaty of Peace & Friendship with this Gov^{t} And say they were discouraged by the French, & several forbidding stories told them w^{ch} they find hitherto false.

The Commiss^{rs} receive them very friendly & give them Assurances of Protection & good usage in Trade & tell them that they will find they can buy at Albany more for One Bever than for 3 with the French —

Albany 21 July 1729. A Deputation from the Oneidas accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that their Nation is in the utmost Sorrow & Distress upon account of the Loss they have sustained by the Virginia Indians with whom they have had a Battle w^{ch} lasted Two days that the Virginia Indians were Two hundred Men to their hundred that on the Seccond Day their Enemies proposed to come to a Peace with them & they recollecting the Gov^{rs} Admonition to them to make Peace with all their Enemies agreed to their Enemies Proposals w^{ch} they no sooner did, than the Virginia Indians fell upon & Massacred several of their People. by this they have sustained a Loss of 55 Men killed & wounded. They insist that our Gov^{r} shall write to the Gov^{r} of Virginia to get the releasement of the Prisoners w^{ch} his Indians have taken —

The Commiss^{rs} condole with them on this Misfortune & promise them to write the Gov^{r} their Request. The Commiss^{rs} resolved also to send two of their Board up to Oneida to perform the usual Ceremony of Condolance with that Nation on this occasion —

(P. 159.) Albany 14 Feb^{ry} 1729/30. Gov^{r} Montgomerie having received a Letter from M^{r} Gooch Gov^{r} of Virginia upon the Subject of the Oneidas Complaint on the other side the

Gov^{r} transmits the s^{d} Letter to the Commiss^{rs} who having sent a summons to the Oneidas 5 Deligates from their Nation appear to whom the Commiss^{rs} interpret Gov^{r} Gooch's Letter, w^{ch} is that it was not the Virginia Indians with whom they had the Battle but the Cattawbaws who are settled at the back of S. Carolina near 400 Miles from Virginia, And y^{t} he is informed the first Hostilities were committed by a party of the 6 Nations who fell upon a Town of the Cattawbaws in the Absence of their Warriers killed several Women & Children & took some Prisoners, were afterwards pursued & Destroyed by the Cattawbaw Warriors. That the Gov^{r} of Virginia will endeavour to recover their Prisoners & make a Peace between the Cattawbaws & the 6 Nations if the latter are disposed thereto.

The Oneida Deputies Answer, that they are well pleased with the Gov^{r} of Virginia's promise to recover their Prisoners but that as to the Matter of Peace they cannot give an ans^{r} without first consulting with the rest of the 6 Nations. —

18 April. Another Letter upon the Subject of the Oneida Prisoners comes from Gov^{r} Gooch & is sent to the Commiss^{rs} who impart such of it as they think necessary to some of the 6 Nations & propose to them that a Sachem of each Nation should go under the Conduct of Two Christians to Virginia to treat with the Cattawbaws about the release of s^{d} Prisoners. — The 11 May the Oneida Sachems come to Albany who reject the Above Proposal & insist the Gov^{r} of Virginia should bring the Cattabaws to Albany to treat with them & that he should recover their Prisoners from the Cattabaws. And they say unless this be done they will raise all the Force of the 6 Nations & their Allies & prosecute the War with the Cattabaws with the utmost Vigor, however they refer themselves to our Gov^{r} & will yet awhile await his proceedings. — The give a Belt to be sent to the Gov^{r} of Virginia upon these their Proposals w^{ch} if he wont comply with they insist may be sent back to them when they will take their own Measures. —

The Commiss^rs write Gov^r Montgomerie the Above Acc^t (p. 160) And altho they have endeavoured to convince our Indians that the Gov^r of Virginia is no ways concerned in this Affair but as being in the Cov^t Chain with the 6 Nations & that the Cattabaws are not under his Jurisdiction but that of S. Carolina. yet such say they is the Ignorance or Obstinacy of the Indians that they still insist the Gov^r of Virginia is the Person capable to settle this Affair for them & the Commiss^rs say they are affraid if it is not somehow compromized, it will be fatal to the out settlements of Virginia & all those Parts. —

Albany 21 Sep^r 1730. Three Mohawk Sachems make the following Speech to the Commiss^rs

Bretheren

As we live under a Stong Covenant Chain being One Heart one Body & One head, we must accquaint you that the most part of our Lands upon the Mohawk River is sold to the Christians & our Hearts grieve us when we consider what small [Hull] pcell of Lands is remaining to us & finding by the Inticements of Christians that our Young Men give Ear to dispose yet of that small remainder, then we will be utterly distroyed & scattered among the French & others, & by means whereof the Cov^t Chain will be broken, We therefore humbly entreat his Excellency & this Board that for the future all Christians may be strictly forbid to entice any of our Indians to purchase any of our Lands & that his Excell^cy will be pleased to prevent all manner of Persons to produce any more of our Lands that remain unsold in order that we & our Children & Posterity may live there Qui't & peacable as Bretheren as we have done hitherto & keep the Cov^t Chain firm, whereupon we lay down 5 Bever Skins.[1]

[1] This scandalous & irregular Method of purchasing Lands from Young Indians by making them drunk or otherwise inposing on them has been formerly taken notice of in these Abstracts. The injustice the Indians have suffered with regard to their Lands, has contributed to drive Numbers to the French in Canada, & in general very much weakened the Attachment of our Indians to us. this hunger after Land seems very early to have taken rise in this Province, & is become now a kind of Epidemical Madness, every Body being eager to accumulate vast Tracts without having an intention or taking measures to settle or improve it, & Land-

No Answer is recorded to the Above, but there follows a Letter in w^ch^ the Commiss^rs^ transmitted the Gov^r^ a Copy of the above Speech & say that their request will certainly tend to the public Good & Tranquility.

(P. 161.) Albany 24 October 1730. The Commiss^rs^ accquaint the Mohawks that the Gov^r^ in Answer to their Message on the other side will take care that no more of their Lands shall be sold & will futher treat with them on that Head at his Meeting them here next Summer.

Laur. Claase the Interpreter having been sent to Onondaga to accquaint the 6 Nations that Gov^r^ Montgomerie had been hindered by several important Affairs of Gov^t^ from Meeting them at Albany this Summer but that he intended to meet them very early next Summer. The s^d^ Laurence Claasse informs the Commiss^rs^ that he had received an Account from an Indian, that Jean Coeur a French officer & Interpreter had come to the Sennecas accompanyed by some French Soldiers & pretended to them that he had been whipped & banished as a Malefactor from Canada, & as he had formerly been a Prisoner among them & his Life saved by them he deemed himself as one of their Bretheren & therefore was come to take shelter amongst them, & intreated them that in order to get his livelihood they would permit him to build a Trading House at Irondequat at the side of Cadaraqui Lake in the Middle Way between Osswego & Niagara, being the Pass of the Forreign Indians by w^ch^ the must pass & repass when they come to Albany or Oswego, & where the Senneca Indians repass when they come from their Bever hunting.[1]

jobbing here is as refind an Art as Stock jobbing in Change Alley. hence public Poverty in the midst of imaginary Wealth!

[1] how [much] strongly dos this exhibit the Industry & Political Artifice of the French, who not contented with their own Modern improvements in Policy rake up & put in practice the [policies] devices of 3 thousand years ago to compass their Views. far from approving all the inhuman, mean & infamous Methods they have taken to establish their present extensive Influence in these parts of the World, it is however to be wished that we had looked forwards as much as they have done & been as industrious to lay a foundation for our future Security & Commerce. but our Dutch Reptiles considered nothing but their present profit, & were animated by no Views to Posterity, w^ch^ is the genuine Character of true Dutchmen.

And further that a Nation of Indians called the Foxes had sent Two red Stone Axes to the Sennecas w^ch^ they had sent to the Gov^r^ of Canada who was at War with those Indians, And that tho the Sennecas had denied to our People at Oswego that any Message came with them, yet it has been since discovered that s^d^ Nation of Foxes had sent those red Axes as a token to the Sennecas to desire they might move from their Country & come & settle among the Sennecas & be united with them, but by the Address of the aforesaid Jean Coeur the Sennecas had been induced to send the said Axes to the Gov^r^ of Canada w^ch^ was in effect rejecting the request of the s^d^ Nation of Foxes. —

(P. 162.) Albany 23 Nov^r^ 1730. The Commiss^rs^ write a Letter to some Persons who were posted in the Sennecas Country, directing them to tell the Sennecas, that they are surprized they should send the Axes w^ch^ came from the Foxes to the Gov^r^ of Canada whereas they ought to have sent them to our Gov^r^ And that their refusing to let the Nation of Foxes incorporate with them is a very weak & impolitic proceeding. And that the Commiss^rs^ are surprized that after having had so many proofs of the Perfidy & Deciet of the French that the Sennecas should be influenced by their Lyes & those groundless Jealouses wherewith the French endeavour to inspire them [with] of us their Bretheren & by those means prevent that general Advantage to us & them w^ch^ would result from the s^d^ Union of the Foxes.

To tell the Sennecas that the Commiss^rs^ wonder they can swallow so improbable a Story as that of Jean Coeurs Banishment when he comes with a Command of Soldiers so very inconsistent with the Character he pretends to, & in the Gov^rs^ name to request them not to allow him to build any Trading House at Irondequat or elsewhere. for that after this manner the French have got all their Forts upon their Land built, by getting leave to build Trading Houses & then turning them into Forts.

26 Nov^{br} the Commiss^{rs} transmit to Gov^{r} Montgomerie Minutes of the Aforesaid Information & write him that they hear the French are going to build also at Crown Point, they represent the Dangerous Consequence that may be of to this Province & New England in case of a War, & hope that His Excell^{cy} will be pleased so to represent these Proceedings & Encroachments of the French to his Majesty that proper Methods may be taken to prevent such infractions of the Treaty. —

(N. B.) It was now upwards of Two years since Gov^{r} Montgomerie had given the 6 Nations a public Meeting at Albany. so long an intermission ever has been & will be (in my Opinion) a very culpable Neglect, & it certainly was so at this time, as the French were with the utmost Art & Industry courting the 6 Nations & carrying on very refind Intrigues to weaken our Influence over them, w^{ch} few Measures tend more to Strengthen than our Gov^{rs} Annually meeting them giving them some Presents with proper Exhortations, & hearing what they have to say &^{c} &^{c} As Gov^{r} Montgomerie was a Wise Man & an honest Gov^{r} I suppose he was distressed by thos Factions w^{ch} have always blasted the Welfare of this Province.

(P. 163.) Albany 8 Feb^{ry} 1730/31 By a Letter from the Commiss^{rs} to the Gov^{r} I find among other Acts of the French to prevent the Farr Indians trading with us, they raised a Report in their Country that the Plague & Small Pox (w^{ch} is full as dreadful to the Indians) raged at New York. the Commiss^{rs} propose that Persons shall have passes to go amongst the far Indians in order to contradict & convince them of the falshood of these Reports.

3 April 1731. Laur. Claasse is dispatched to the 6 Nations to acquaint them that the Gov^{r} proposes to meet them at Albany the 12 of next Month.

Albany 18 May 1731. Gov^{r} Montgomerie meets the Mohawks, the Cayouges, the Onondagas, the Sennekas & Tuscarora Indians the Oneidas not being arrived. The Gov^{r} in his Speech renews the Cov^{t} with them as the 6 Nations & also

in behalf of all his Majesties other Subjects in N. America he tells them they acted honestly & wisely when they denied Jean Coeur to make any Settlement on their Land, & says he expects they will suffer no person of any Nation whatsoever to reside amongst them unless they are Subjects of the King of Great Britain. "And since you have put your Lands under the protection of the King of Great Britain, I do in a particular manner require in my Masters Name that you will not suffer the French to build any Fort or Trading House on the side of the Lake (Cadaraqui) or any other part of your Lands."

20 May. The Sachems Answer his Excellencys Speech. They renew the Cov^t^ Chain with this Gov^t^ & all his Majesties Subjects in N. America. They earnestly desire that no Rum may be sold any where but at Albany & Oswego & not bro^t^ into their Castles, they say it is impossible for them to resist it when it is to be sold amongst them, that it destroys Men, Women & Children & unfits them for every kind of Buisness. that if it was only sold at Oswego & Albany, they could fetch it but in small pcells & not be continually intoxicated with it as they are when its continually to be bo^t^ at their Castles.

We are fully resolved not to let any other Settlements be made on the side of the Lake. *There stands a Trading House at Niagara w^ch^ the French have treacherously built there, but the House at Oswego has been built by all our Consents.* The more Houses are (p. 164) built near us the more the [men] Liquor is bro^t^ unto us w^ch^ is the Occasion of all Mischief therefore we do not incline any more should be made.

the Gov^r^ Answered that as to the carring Rum to sell at their Castles he had strictly prohibited it, & if they would tell him the Persons Names who bro^t^ it there he would take Care they should be punished, & that he would do his utmost to prevent it for the future.

I find by the Commiss^rs^ Letter to the Hon^ble^ Rip van Dam Esq^r^ Pres^t^ of the Council [that] bearing date the 9 July 1731.

that Gov^{r} Montgomerie died at New York & that the Administration of the Gov^{t} fell into the hands of the said Van Dam. —

12 July 1731. The commiss^{rs} dispatch Laur. Claasse to the Six Nations to accquaint them with the Death of Gov^{r} Montgomerie & that M^{r} Rip van Dam as Presd^{t} of the Council takes the Gov^{t} upon him. And that as they hear a general Council is to be held at Onondaga where some French Agents are expected whose Errand the Commiss^{rs} judge is to obtain leave to build on the 6 Nations Land, the s^{d} Laur Claasse is to repair thither & put the 6 Nations in Mind of their Solemn Promise made to our late Gov^{r} & to prevent all in his power any such Liberty being granted to the French. —

26 July Laur. Claasse returns from Onondaga & says that the Council met there to pass Condolances upon the Death of a Frenchman who had been an Interpreter between them & the French.

25 Sep^{r} 1731. Some Persons who return from Canada, say that in their Journey thither they found the French were building a Fort at Crown Point & that at their return it was finished.

24 Dec^{r} The Commiss^{rs} receive Information that some Sachems of the 6 Nations had been with the Gov^{r} of Canada in consequence of w^{ch} a Council was to be held at Onondaga. hereupon they dispatch Laur Claasse to Onondaga to be present at the Council & to disswade the 6 Nations against yielding to any propositions from the French w^{ch} may be detrimental to this Gov^{t} & to reproach the Onondagaes with their not accquainting the Commiss^{rs} of this Gen^{l} Meeting.

(P. 165.) Albany 11 Feb^{ry} 1731/2. a Deputation from the Mohawks repenting their former Message about the taking up of their Lands bearing date the 21 Sep^{r} 1730 (pag 160 — of these Abstracts) they complain that notwithstanding their said remonstrance Lycences are still Granted to

purchase their Lands w^ch^ purchases are made after a Scandalous & unfair Manner. They say they are now detirmined to go down to New York & address themselves to the Superior Powers on this Subject.

28 Feb^ry^ The Commiss^rs^ in Answer to a Letter from the Pres^t^ about the Property of the Lands at Crown point write thus.

" what relates that y^r^ Hon^r^ is pleased to be informed from us, to what Indians the Crown Point belongs or who claims it, We conceive that the Lands at the Crown Point & places adjacent belonged to the Mohawks who Undoubtedly have conveyed their right to the Crown while Parson Delius [1] has had a Patent for the same as far as Rogies a Rock in Corlaers Lake at least 30 Miles to the North of Crown Point w^ch^ Patent is resumed to the Crown. What claim the Gov^t^ of the Massachuchets or New Hampshire have to the same we know not."

I find several Complaints scattered up & down the Records of the ill-supply & badness of the Provisions to the Garrison at Osswego & as it was put in the hands of a Commissary at Albany, I am neither surprized at the Complaints nor their continuance.

Albany 24 April 1732. Eight Sachems of the Mohawk Indians make a complaint to the Commiss^rs^ that they hear M^r^ Philip Livingston has obtained a Patent for all their Land w^ch^ lays to the North & west along the Mohawks River as far as to a certain fall upon the said River. they say, if this is true then M^r^ Livingston has murdered us asleep for our Land is our Life. We earnestly desire you to send for a Copy of the s^d^ Patent that you may inform us how much Land he has taken up in said Patent that our Children may not come into dispute after our Decease, (p. 166) For we have sold no Land to M^r^ Livingston & are now fully resolved never to sell him a foot of Land. We

[1] This Affair of the Dutch Parson One Dallius is taken notice of in these Abstracts pages 25 & 26. (*Ante*, p. 30. — Ed.)

(There is much in the *New York Colonial Documents* about Dellius and his grants. Bellomont charged him with gross irregularities. See Index to *N. Y. Col. Docs.* — Ed.)

know that said Livingston has given several private Gifts to some of our Young Men but he may account that as thrown into the Sea.

The Commiss^{rs} Answer that they would transmit their Complaint to the Pres^{t} in Council & if they think fit to send a Copy of the said Patent we shall inform you thereof & shew you the same.

The Commiss^{rs} did accordingly transmit to the Pres^{t} a Copy of this Complaint of the Mohawks.[1]

Albany 28 April 1732. Laurence Claasse is dispatched on behalf of this Gov^{t} to Attend another Gen^{l} Meeting w^{ch} the Commiss^{rs} are informed is to be held at Onondaga —

Whether this is the same mentioned pag 164 [I do] the Records do not inform me, I am [dis]inclined to beleive it is as there appears no report from Laur Claasse of anything done at Onondaga since that time.

3 Aug^{t} 1732. His Hon^{r} the Pres^{t} having directed the Commiss^{rs} to furnish a Detachment of the Indep^{t} Companys with Provisions for their March to Oswego. they return for Answer that having none of the publics Money in their hands & no Provision being made for the same by the Assembly they cannot do it.

7 Aug^{t} 1732. The Commiss^{rs} write a Congratulatory Letter to W^{m} Cosby Esq^{r} upon his Arrival as Gov^{r} of this Province

25 Aug^{t} The Mayor Corporation & Commonality of the City of Albany Transmit an humble Representation to Gov^{r} Cosby of the defenceless State of the City & County of Albany & humbly pray his Excell^{cy} to lay it before the Assembly that a Stone Fort may be built at Albany & a Wooden Fortification at Serahtoga & a Garrison kept there as a Retreat for out Skouts & other important uses. —

[1] 26 June following I find another Embassy & complaint from the Mohawks on this Subject who insist on seeing the Patent, the Commiss^{rs} answer the Pres^{t} had not sent it.

4 Sep[r] Laur. Claasse is dispatched to the 6 Nations to notify to them the Arrival of Gov[r] Cosby & that he cannot meet them this year but proposes to do it next Spring. —

(P. 167.) Albany 8 Sep[r] 1733. Gov[r] Cosby meets the 6 Nations at Albany, he condoles with them on the Great Mortality w[ch] has happened amongst them by reason of the small Pox.

That he is sorry he could not meet them sooner, but that the Affairs of New York & Jersey necessarily detained him. That he is commanded by his Majesty to renew the Cov[t] Chain with them in behalf of all his Majestys Subjects of N. America & expects they will do it on their side.

That he expects they are now convinced the Garrison at Oswego is not only promotive of the Trade with the far Indians but for the Security & conveniency of the Six Nations, and therefore that they should defend it against all Attempts from any Enemy. And that they will be kind to the Traders & not molest them. he says. "Bretheren how unable the French are to supply you with Goods when the King of Great Britain & the French are at War, you know very well & that the French themselves in Canada could not have subsisted had they not been supplied from Albany."

he Commands their Young Men to forbear Hostilities against such remote Indians as do not annoy 'em & to cultivate a good Understanding with them for our general Good.

That they will not permit any Persons of what Nation soever to reside amongst them but the Subjects of the King of Great Britain *And since you have put your Lands under the Protection of the King of Great Britain, I do in a particular manner require you in my Masters Name, that you will not suffer the French to build any Fort on the side of the Lake or any other part of your Lands.* he says,

"Bretheren I am informed that some of our Traders at Oswego have cheated the remote Indians by selling them Water instead of Rum. I will take care that no such thing be done for the future. I will give Orders to the

Officer at that Garrison to taste & try the Kegs of Rum as soon as you receive them from the Traders & if they have given you bad Rum oblige them to take it back & give you better." [1]

(P. 168.) Albany 11 Sep[r] 1733. The 6 Nations return their Answer to Gov[r] Cosbys Speech.

They kindly accept his Condolances & make theirs for what People we lost by the Small Pox & for the Death of Gov[r] Montgomerie.

They lay down some Furrs as a token that Albany is the Antient & proper place for all public Treaties with them.

They renew the Cov[t] on their parts. They say they shall not let any Body reside amongst them or build Forts upon their Land unless it be the Subjects of the King of Great Britain. They say,

We have submitted ourselves under the Protection of the King of Great Britain. And we Promise on our parts to Assist & protect all his Majesties Subjects against an Enemy whatsoever."

They say they will endeavour to restrain their Young Men from going out a fighting, but that it is not often in their power, for they will go out in the Night time, or pretend they are going a hunting & then meet & set out a fighting.

They thank the Gov[r] for his promise that they shall not be cheated [ag] in the Rum sold at Oswego. They complain that the Goods are too dear there w[ch] frustrates their Endeavours of drawing the far Indians thither, whom the French use every Artifice to detain.

They desire that Pouder & Lead may be bro[t] to Osswego of all other Goods there is enough. —

The Sennecas desire a Smith & an Armourer.[2]

[1] The Officer of the Indep[t] Companys who gos on the Command to Oswego generally carrys up a large Quantity of Goods to Trade (tho tis against Law &[c]) & Interest is made with Gov[rs] for that Command. they being Traders neither their Reports or Behaviour is to be depended on.

[2] at this Meeting I do not find any private Conferrence with the Sachems w[ch]

12 Sep^{r} 1733. Gov^{r} Cosby speaks to the Schaahkook Indians & exhorts them to endeavour to prevail on their Bretheren who are deserted to Canada to return & settle themselves among them.

In their Answer they take no Notice of this Exhortation.

From this Meeting the Records are Silent till March 1733/34. the 4th of w^{ch} Month I find a long Letter from the Commiss^{rs} to Gov^{r} Cosby. They inform him that several French Men with an Interpreter & a Smith have for some time past resided amongst the Sennecas, that they (p. 169) give 'em presents, drink with them, Dance with them & make use of every possible Artifice to engage their Affections, w^{ch} they have so far effected that the French have built a House among them at y^{e} side of a Creek between Two of their Castles.

that a Chief Sachem amongst them who has been always inclined to the British Interest, had given information that several of his Countrymen had actualy gone over to the French Interest & that the Majority of the Sennecas were in a very wavering Condition.

The Commiss^{rs} represent to the Gov^{r} how very fatal the Consequences will be if the French should seduce the Sennecas from our Alliance & Interest. They say, the Sennecas are as numerous as the other Five Nations. " It is well Known to us how easy the French of Canada may in time of War (& a War at this time was expected) if they should have the 6 Nations or only the Sennecas on their side joined with the Upper or Far Indians in the French Interest, anoy & disturb the peacable & quiet Enjoyments of most of the out settlements on the Continent of America by Skulking Parties; so that many fine Improvements would be deserted, w^{ch} we humbly concieve would not only be the ruin of many flourishing Families, a Decrease in the Consumption & Exportation of the Woolen Manufactures from Great Britain to

is an Antient Custom & a very useful peice of Policy. It helps (when well conducted) to secure all the leading Men who will open themselves with less Reserve than in any public Speeches. Besides the French have always some Indians in their Interest. hence the Sachems in our Interest speak with great caution in public.

America but a diminishing His Majesties Revenue & the entire Loss of that valuable Branch the Fur Trade we now enjoy & are Possessed of." [1]

The Commiss[rs] propose that some Proper Persons be sent to reside in the Sennecas Country & take with them a Sachem or two of the other 5 Nations — that they demolish the house the French have built that Smiths also be sent to work for the Indians in the Sennecas Country.

30 March 1734. David Schuyler goes Commissary to Oswego. (this office rightly conducted would be of infinite Service to our Trade & political Interest with the Indians. but like most other Matters its generaly made a Dupe to private Interest. Some Gov[rs] have appointed to serve their own Ends & others are imposed upon.)

(P. 170.) Albany 3 June 1734 — The Commiss[rs] receive Information that a General Meeting of the 5 Nations is to be held at Onondaga & as this was not properly notified to them according to Atient Usage they dispatch Laur Claasse thither as representative for this Gov[t] & direct him to reproach the Assembly for their neglect in not communicating their Meeting & with instructions to overlook their proceedings & support the Interest of this Gov[t] [2]

7 June. Co[l] Philip Schuyler receives the Gov[rs] Instructions to go up to the Sennecas Country to treat with those Indians in behalf of this Gov[t]

[1] the Picture here drawn is a very just One. And it evinces the great necessity of a diligent & Skillful Attention to the Indian Affairs throughout all the British Colonies in America. The French have at this time by their superior address & Industry, a much greater influence among the various Nations of Indians on the Continent than the English, w[ch] it is to be feared they will one day or another turn to their own great Advantage & to our fatal Experience. They act upon a Uniform Plan. the Colonies upon divided Interests & temporary Expedients. The English are indeed a Numerous People & our Settlements extend far up into the Country, but then they are thinly scattered & exposed to Desertion whenever the French can prevail on the Indians to go in Scalping Parties against us. this was the Case last war, & tho the Troops on the Intended Exp[n] against Canada were posted in the County of Albany, yet Settlements were deserted for above 70 Miles extent in that County.

[2] such a neglect of the Indians is always a Sign of the prevalency of the French Interest & the weakness of ours.

18 June Lur. Claasse returns from Onondaga & says the Gen[l] Meeting is adjourned to the Sennecas Country.

There is no Report in the Records of Co[l] Schuylers Embassy to the Sennecas but I find in a Letter from the Commiss[rs] to Gov[r] Cosby bearing date 28 April 1735. in w[ch] they Advise him that the French are building a very strong stone Fort at Crown Point. They Add, " We are informed by some People who are come from the Sennecas Country that the Senneca Indians continue Stedfast in their Engagements to Co[l] Phil. Schuyler. —

8 April 1735. Hendrik a Mohawk Sachem accquaints the Commiss[rs] that the 6 Nations are inclined to make a Peace with the Flat heads of South Carolina. The Commiss[rs] approve thereof & give the s[d] Hend[k] a large Belt of Wampum to be sent thro the 6 Nations to encourage them to push this Matter forward.

28 May 1735. The Chief of the Cagnawaga Castle in Cannada with Four other Indians arrive at Albany & accquaint the Commiss[rs] that the Gov[r] of New England had sent for them, but that the Gov[r] of (p. 171) Canada had forbid them to go, however that he was determined to come to Albany to give this Intelligence to the Commiss[rs] tho he expects he shall incur the Gov[r] of Canada's Displeasure by doing it.

The Commiss[rs] persuaded this Chief of the Indians to go to Boston, at the same time renewed the Covenant of Peace & Friendship with them & agreed that in Case a War should break out between Great Britain & France that he & his People should be Neuter & desired him to further the said Neutrality with his Nation & the other Indians w[ch] he faithfully promised to do. —

Albany 10 June 1735. a Cayouge Warrior reports to the Commiss[rs] that he & another Indian returning this Spring from their Winter hunting stopped at a Castle of the Wagenhaes or Uttawawa Indians who received them kindly & that their Sachems met & told them that a Peace & good Correspondance had been formerly established between

their Nation & the 5 Nations & tho the Sachems were dead who made it yet they now renewed it & desired it might be continued.

They said they had tried their Father the Gov^{r} of Canada & liked him not. that they had tried their Bretheren of New York & found themselves well used, & that they intended to build a New Castle that they might come & Trade at Oswego without being obliged to touch at Fort Cadaraqui. That the Wagenhaes had given 20 Bevers to enforce their above Speech, 10 of w^{ch} were left with the Caouge Sachems in order to return an Answer & the s^{d} Sachems had sent the other 10 to the Commiss^{rs} for them to return proper Presents to the Wagenhaes.

The Commiss^{rs} thank the Cayouge's for their Endeavours to bring the far Nations to trade with us, & return a small present to the Cayouge Sachems —

(Quere) Would it not have been good Policy to have dispatched this Indian with presents & a Message to the Wagenhaes to have kept up & encreased this good disposition of theirs. I find nothing but a cold Comp^{t} paid to the Cayouges on the Occasion. had such a Circumstance happened to the French, they I am persuaded would imediately have sent an Embassy & forwarded the removal of their Castle. but our Albany Commiss^{rs} are too fat headed, & have too much Belgick Phlegm for so judicious & Active a Conduct.

(P. 172.) Albany July the Commiss^{rs} receive a Letter from Gov^{r} Cosby accquainting them that the Garrison at Oswego are very much in want of Bedding & desire them to send a Supply of Rugs & Blankets out of the public's Money.

29 July 1735. The Commiss^{rs} answer that the Members of the Assembly for the City & County being present told them if they complied with the above Request of the Gov^{rs} they were of opinion the Assembly would not alow it in their Accounts & therefore they could not venture to do it. And that the said Charge must fall on the Traders.

30 July. Laur. Claasse is dispatched to the 6 Nations to acquaint them that his Excell^{cy} Gov^{r} Cosby intended to meet them at Albany the 3^{d} of next Sep^{r}

1 August 1735. Sundry Sachems of the Cacknawaga Canada Indians arrive at Albany & desire a Meeting from the Commiss^{rs} —

They begin by offering the Calumet or Pipe of Peace to all the Commiss^{rs} who according to the Indian custom take each a Whif. having gone through this Solemnity, their Speaker opens the Conference & says he speaks in the Name of the Gov^{r} of Canada & the 3 Castles of Indians in Cannada[1] that they are come in Consequence of the Belt of Wampum sent to them by the Commissioners last May, to renew & strengthen the Antient Peace Friendship & Intercourse between their Constituents this Gov^{t} & the 6 Nations. That they may mutualy Aid & Assist each other, and that all the rights of Hospitality may be mutualy kept up between the contracting Parties, with Liberty of mutual Trade & Intercourse.[2]

The Commiss^{rs} Accept ratify & Solemnize in behalf of the Gov^{r} of New York the above offered Treaty of Peace Trade & Amity with the Gov^{r} of Canada & all the Indians dwelling in his Gov^{t} & promise (p. 173) to send the Calumet Pipe to Onondaga to be there laid up as a Memorial to Posterity of this Solemn Treaty.[3]

[1] these 3 Castles are Deserters from the 5 Nations —

[2] The Gov^{r} of Canada having just finished the stone Fort at Crown Point w^{ch} is within the Boundaries of this Province & having settled his Plan of operations to the Westward at Lake Ontario & Niagara I suppose dispatched this Solemn Embassy to Albany as a Security & Cover to his Designs. The Canada Trading Faction at Albany who I find were the Majority of the Commiss^{rs} swallowed the Bait with Greediness. by this Solemn Treaty the Canada Trade was opened & freed from all Obstructions.

[3] This Treaty is One of the most formal & carried on with the greatest Solemnity of any I have met within the Records, That the Commissioners should take upon them so great an Act of Power as this Appears to be without giving the Gov^{r} any previous Notice & having his Orders thereupon seems to me an Insolent Stretch of their Office — but I suppose they knew under what Influence M^{r} Cosby acted & that the Albany Genius & Politics were recommended to his Submission. who lead

Albany 18 Sep^{r} 1735. Gov^{r} Cosby meets the 6 Nations at Albany & speaks to them in Manner following —

he pays them the Compliments of Condolance upon the Loss of those of their People who are deceased since his last Meeting them. he renews the Cov^{t} with them in behalf of all his Majesties Subjects in North America.

he repeats to them all the Advantages they reap by the Garrison at Oswego & tells them he expects they will on all occasions be ready to defend it; he exhorts them not to suffer the French to build any Trading House or Forts on their Land, w^{ch} he tells them they have put under the Protection of the King of Great Britain.

he thanks them for their kindness to the Traders, & tells them they must be sensible that when the King of Great Britain is at War with the King of France how unable the French are to supply them with Goods & says *You very well know, that the French themselves in Canada could not have subsisted, had they not been supplied from Albany.*

That he rejoices to hear of their Inclination to Peace with the Southern Indians, he presses that matter upon them & desires they will name a time when they are willing to meet Deligates from those Indians at Albany & he will write to the Gov^{r} near whose Provinces they reside in order to bring this Peace to a final Issue.

He accquaints them with the Treaty lately made by the Commissioners with the Canada Indians & delivers them the Calumet w^{ch} they left to be lodged at Onondaga

he tells them the King has ordered him to give them several presents in his Name, w^{ch} they shall receive as soon as they give him their Answer.

(P. 174.) Albany 20 Sep^{r} 1735 — The 6 Nations Answer the Gov^{rs} Speech They return their Comp^{ts} of Condolance.

him at this time I know not. And whether this Treaty was or was not good Policy, I shall not detirmine, but I think it was a Step of too much consequence to have been taken without the Gov^{rs} concurrence of w^{ch} I find no traces in the Records. It opened & fixt the Canada Trade w^{ch} I believe was the Chief View our Commiss^{rs} had in it —

They promise the Cov^{t} shall be kept inviolable on their side As to the Garrison & Trade at Oswego, they say when a number of Traders are there Goods are sold Cheap, but when there is but a Trader or two, they are cheated, not only the 6 Nations but the far Indians, & instead of pure Rum they receive half Water, this they say makes them appear as Lyars to the Far Indians who come there upon their Encouragment.

They say

"Brother You told us that you would not suffer any French to go up the River Oswego, we suppose you are in a Mistake in that affair,[1] *for the Trade & Peace we take to be one thing* for here have lately been Indians from Canada to renew their old Friendship therefore no Passages ought to be stopped where Messengers come thro to make Peace, perhaps far Indians may want to come to Albany or to some of the 6 Nations to make Peace."

The Gov^{r} said he did not mean to hinder any Indians from coming to them, but to prevent the French from coming amongst them to infuse Lyes & prejudice them against this Gov^{t} —

They proceed & say

"You command that we should not suffer the French Priest or any other French to live among us on this side of the Lake (Lake Ontario) Bro^{r} Corlaer, We take narrow notice of it, its as if you on one side & the French on the other will press us out of our Lands, we are like Dumb People not knowing what ails us, but we promise we shall not consent to any French living among

[1] The Sachems take this Treaty with the Canada Indians in the same Light I did, as a free & full opening of the Trade to Cannada w^{ch} (in my Opinion) was prudently prohibited by Gov^{r} Burnet. And from their sense as above expressed of it, I make no doubt they now looked upon themselves as at Liberty to enter into any Negotiations they thought proper with the French. This Treaty certainly tended to take off that Jealousy & coldness of the French w^{ch} it is ever the Interest of this Colony to inspire the 6 Nations with. It appears to me that a free Trade to Canada is false Policy with regard to the Indian Trade meerly as such, but in the general System of Indian Politics I must think it [is] a wrong Measure.

us or to settle on this side the Lake. the House at Niagara is built but it was against our Consent. —

(P. 175.) They are willing his Excell^{cy} should employ his Mediation to settle a Peace between them & the Flat heads & say they refer the Managment of it wholly to him.[1]

Albany April 1736. The Commiss^{rs} receive an Acc^{t} of the Death of Gov^{r} Cosby who is succeeded by the Hon^{ble} George Clarke Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} —

Several Indians intending to go out a fighting against the Flat heads are stopped by the Message & Endeavours of the Commiss^{rs} & the Commiss^{rs} receive a Letter bearing date the 7 May from the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Advising them he had wrote to the Gov^{r} of South Carolina upon the Subject of a Peace between the 6 Nations & the Flat heads.

29 May. A Smith & Three Men are sent to reside in the Sennecas Country for One year for w^{ch} they are to receive £80. And have £20 more allowed them to bestow upon the Indians in presents in such manner as they shall judge most for the public Good. —

12 June 1736. Several Sachems of the Schaahkook Indians present another Complaint to the Commiss^{rs} about their Land. They say.

"The first Gov^{rs} who came here fixt our Fathers at Schaahkook that they & their Posterity should live there."

"We have Land at Schaahkook but the Christians have taken it within their Fences so that we have none left to plant on, The Christinas tell us that they have got it from some Indians but we know of none that have given it them."

I find no kind of Answer recorded to these Oppressed People's Complaint.

[1] I find no private Conferrence between the Gov^{r} & the Sachems recorded at this Meeting, why Gov^{r} Cosby departed from the Practice of his Predecessors, I know not. Such private Conferrences Attended with presents have been extreamly useful at some very critical junctures, & in my Opinion might be always rendered very Advantageous to the public Weal, by an honest & judicious Gov^{r} —

19 July. The Commiss[rs] receive Information that the Traders at Oswego sell Rum to the French Interpreter, who gives it to the Senneca Indians in order to promote his Influence & the French Designs amongst them. (surely this is a notorious proof that tho my cursory reflections on the Albanian Indian Traders are severe they do not rise up to the Infamy of their Characters.)

(P. 176.) Albany 30 July 1736. The Commiss[rs] receive a Letter from one of our Residents at Oswego accquainting them. That a Great Sachem of the Ottawawa Nation had been there & given Information that the French had been among the far Nations & told them they were detirmined to cut off Oswego & kill all those Indians who should go there to Trade.

That they had also forced Three Nations of far Indians who were coming to Trade at Oswego to go to Canada

That they have also sent for the Messasagas another Nation of Far Indians who used to Trade at Oswego to come to Canada.

That [sold] some Miamies Indians who were arrived at Oswego complained that the French had stopped them at Niagara & forcibly taken from them part of their Goods.

That Jean Coeur the French Interpreter had carried with him towards Canada Three Great Sachems of the Sennecas in order to go to Canada & sell to the French their Land at Irondequat, but our Resident got some other Sachems to go after them & brought 'em back much to the Mortification of Jean Coeur, who dispatched a Messenger to the Onondagas to desire them to go to the Sennecas & get some other Sachems to go with him in the room of those who were returned, for he would not go to Canada without some of the Senneca Sachems as the Gov[r] of Canada much wanted to speak with them.

That Jean Coeur intended to return from Canada to the Sennecas Country in 30 or 40 days & as he passed by

Oswego to stop there & buy from our Traders 160 Kegs of Rum to distribute amongst the Sennecas.

The same Letter advises that notwithstanding these Base & Unwarrantable Proceedings of the French, there has been a great Trade at Oswego this Summer. that 160 Canoes of far Indians had been there besides what had come from the 6 Nations.[1]

(P. 177.) Upon the receipt of the foregoing Letter the Commiss^{rs} nominate 5 Persons & a Smith to go & reside in the Sennecas Country for One year & give them Instructions to watch the Motions of the French, to be watchful over & to promote to the utmost of their Power the Influence & Interest of this Province.

Albany 9 March 1736/37 Laur. Claasse the Interpreter is dispatched to Onondaga to Accquaint the 6 Nations that Gov^{r} Gooch of Virginia has prevailed upon the Southern Indians to send Deputies to Williamsburgh ab^{t} the begining of next April to treat of Peace between them & the 6 Nations, & to desire they would fix on Deputies to go there on their behalf, in the meantime the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} commands them to cease from all hostilities.

6 April. Laur. Claasse returns & reports that he had met the Sachems of the 6 Nations to whom he had communicated the above Message & they return for Answer. that they are surprized the Gov^{r} of Virginia should send this Message to them without taking Notice of the Gov^{r} of New York or the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Affairs that some Persons from them might go with their Deputies for say they We are One Body, One Blood & One Heart, as they cannot write or read they would not trust the whole managm^{t} of such a Treaty to their own People.

[1] These Violent & Scandalous Attempts of the French, is an incontestible Argument how very detrimental this Trading House at Oswego was to their Interest & consequently how beneficial to ours & had the Northern Trade to Canada been entirely rooted out & our whole Attention been Applied to the Western Trade at Oswego, & proper Persons disengaged from Trade been placed there to have pushed our Political Influence with the far Nations, it seems to me we might have given a Mortal wound to the French Indian Trade & Influence. by force of Arms it is now I believe impossible.

That Albany is the Antient & fixt Place for all People to treat with them & if Gov^r^ Gooch will come himself or send Proper Deputies with Deligates from the Southern Indians to Albany, they will meet there & hear Proposals—

That the Gov^rs^ orders for their committing no Hostilities came to late a Party of between 3 & 400 fighters of the 6 Nations were already gone out a fighting but they will use their Endeav^rs^ to hinder others from following. —

Laur. Claasse further reports that the 6 Nations are to have a general Meeting the begining of May next to consider of the French Interpreters request about Settling at Irondequat.

The Commiss^rs^ transmit the Above Information to the Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ & say they think it highly necessary that some Person of Distinction should attend the above Meeting with Laur. Claasse the Interpreter. (P. 178.) Accordingly Laurence Claasse & another Person is sent up to Onondaga with proper Presents to act in Behalf of this Gov^t^ at the s^d^ Meeting & instructed, to remind the 6 Nations that it is expressly contrary to their several Treaties with this Gov^t^ & their solemn Promises to suffer any French to settle on their Land & will be a Manifest Violation of the Cov^t^ Chain, that they ought not to hold meetings with the French or listen to their seducing Artifices.

Albany 4 May 1737. The Commiss^rs^ apply by Letter to the Representatives of the City & County of Albany to get an Act passed that no more but one Interpreter to the Commissary shall be made use of at Osswego & no Brokers employed by the Traders there. for that the Multiplicity of Interpreters & the employing Brokers is the Occasion of much irregularity & confusion. —

28 May M^r^ Schuyler who was sent to Onondaga with the Laur. Claasse the Interpreter returns & reports, that he did not find the Assembly met at Onondaga, but he learnt there that the Sennecas had certainly given Jean Coeur leave to build a Trading House at Irondequat, upon w^ch^ they proceeded to the Sennecas Country & convened the Sachems together, & asked them if it was true thay had given that

Liberty to Jean Coeur; they owned they had given him Liberty to build a small Hut, but thanked the Gov^{r} & Commiss^{rs} for their Advise & promised they would recall the Liberty they had given, And in token thereof they gave a Belt of Wampum —

But Laur. Classe who returned into the Senneca's Country after M^{r} Schuyler had left it, reports, that he found the Sennecas had entirely fallen off from their Promises to M^{r} Schuyler & that Jean Coeur was going on with the Settlement at Irondequat, upon w^{ch} he convened the Sachems & asked them how they came so soon to forget their Promises to M^{r} Schuyler for that he was informed the French Interpreter was gone to Niagara to fetch Pouder &^{c} to furnish a Trading House at Irondequat, & that in order to convince him it was not by their Consent, Laur Claasse desired the Sachems would speak with Jean Coeur in his presence return his belt of Wampum & make void their Agreement with him, but to this the Sachems would not consent. And that (p. 179) he was further informed at Onondaga that the Sachems of the Sennecas had received a large Belt of Wampum from the Gov^{r} of Canada to join him in a War against a Nation of Indians called the Foxes. —

That after he had condoled with them on the Death of their Principal Sachem called the Doctor, they had consented to come down with him to Albany to meet & speak with the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} in conjunction with the other 5 Nations.

Albany 27. June 1737. Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Clarke meets the 6 Nations at this Place, to whom before he enters upon any other Buisness he makes a very Pathetic & well drawn Remonstrance upon their consenting to let the French Interpreter settle at Irondequat. In w^{ch} he tells them, " You know well that about 36 [1] — Winters ago you gave those Lands to the Great King of Eng^{d} y^{r} Father to hold & protect

[1] The [Deed of S] Act of Surrender & the Deed in consequence of it An^{o} 1701.

them for you, & you know that about 11 [1] Winters ago you that you acknowledged & confirmed that Gift, now having in that solemn Manner put it into the hands of our King your Father you cannot without his Consent suffer a French man or any other but the Subjects of the Great King of England to build on it unless you resolve to throw off his Protection & our Friendship."

He tells them that before he proceeds to renew & brighten the Cov^{t} Chain with them he must have their Answer & Resolution upon the Above Affair.

The same day the 6 Nations made Answer to the above Speech of the Lieu^{t} Gov^{rs}

They begin thus.

Bretheren Indians that belong to the French, You are here to listen to what we shall speak to our Bro^{r} Corlaer.

You may hear it & we doubt not you will tell it to the Gov^{r} of Canada w^{ch} you may do, but we desire you will tell him nothing but the Truth.[2] (P. 180.) They then proceed & repeat the Gov^{rs} Accusation of their Infidelity & the Gen^{l} heads of his Speech to them. They say Bro^{r} Corlaer You spoke very fierce & roughly to us & we hope you'l give us the same Liberty.

Brother

At the time when the French built the House at Niagara the Gov^{r} asked us in a public Meeting why we suffered it & did not Demolish it, we answered that we were not able to do it but desired the Gov^{r} to write to the King about it w^{ch} he promised to do, but we have never heard more about it, so we think they who write are as forgetful as we who cannot write, for this we can remember & think the Gov^{r} should at least have accquainted us with what Answer he had. —

[1] In their Conference with Gov^{r} Burnet in July 1727. —

[2] I suppose they must mean those Indian among themselves whom the French had bribed & cajolled into their Interest, for surely a Man of M^{r} Clarkes Sagacity would never have suffered Canada Indians to have been Auditors at this Conferrence. that y^{e} Albanians might have harboured them would be to me no wonder.

Bro^r You have told us that probably we have forgot what passed in former times but our Ancesters have handed down to us from Father to Son what has happened both in the Dutch & English times. there has been a Book but perhaps that Book has been destroyed.

Bro^r We have come to a full Resolution of all the 6 Nations not with false Lips but from the bottom of our Hearts that the French shall not settle on any of our Lands & this you may believe we speak with Sincerity.

We again say as before & we speak with a sincere Heart & shall perform our Promise there shall not one French man settle on our Land.

We want to ask one Question tho it dos not belong to the present Subject. how comes it that the French have settled so near in the Neighbourhood even at the Crawn Point ? have they won it by the Sword, We think it is our Land ? [1]

Thus ends this Days Conferrence.

(P. 181.) Albany 28 June 1737. Gov^r Clarke makes a Second Speech to the 6 Nations, the Stile of w^ch is so elegant & the Sentiments so just & Excellent that if it consisted with the Intentions of these Papers I would transcribe at length for the Entertainment of those into whose hands they may fall, but I must keep up to my Plan, & proceed to take notice of such Matters as in my Judgment seem to be of necessary importance.

he expresses his Satisfaction in the Solemn Promises they have made to him on the Subject of permitting the French to settle on their Lands & depending on their sincerity & exact performance, renews the Cov^t with them in his Majesties name in the most ample Manner. —

[1] this a kind of Sarcastic Question of the Indians & meant as a reproach to our Indolence & weakness to suffer them to build a Fort within the Limits of this Province. I beleive the true Answer would be this. It was suffered in lieu of the Canada Trade & agreeable to the constant Policy of the French with the Albanian Administrators, to feed their impatient Avarice at the Expense of the future Honour & safety of this Province. —

he represents in very lively Colours the pernicious Designs & Artifices of the French who have no other Intentions but to extirpate & Destroy them in order to favour & compass their own Ambitions Designs, and as one Instance, he gives their Endeavours to prevail on the Young Warriors of the 6 Nations to join them in their War upon the Nation of the Foxes, by w^{ch} the 6 Nations can attain Nothing but false Glory & real Loss. he exhorts them rather to Cultivate the profitable Arts of Peace & the practice of Justice & Temperance by w^{ch} they will introduce Riches amongst themselves & inspire their Neighbours with a veneration & Esteem for them.

he points out to them the advantage of the Trading House at Oswego & that the more they can succeed in their Influence among the far Nations to bring them thither to Trade, the greater will be the plenty & cheapness of Goods that we shall always be able to sell Cheaper than the French who are obliged to purchase many of their Goods at Albany.

he tells them he is informed the Sennecas & Cayouges have sold to M^{r} Pen those Lands of theirs on the Susquahana River where the Shawawanas & other Indians are settled by w^{ch} means those Indians are drove to the Intention of taking an Assylum at Tuchsakrondie among the Settlements of the French, w^{ch} he tells them will tend to weaken the power of the 6 Nations & add strength to the French & therefore recommends it to them as a peice of good Policy worthy of their Prudence to invite those Indians to settle on some of their remaining Lands. (P. 182.) he concludes his Speech or rather Oration by telling them he has some Presents for them from their Loving Father King George. w^{ch} he will give them when the Conferrence is finished that they may not be cheated out of them for Rum as they have often been

Albany 30 June 1737. The 6 Nations return their Answer to Gov^{r} Clarke's most excellent Speech. They say they promise in the Name of the 6 Nations to keep the Cov^{t}

Chain inviolable on their parts & to make it clearer & brighter & stronger than ever.

As to the Gov^{r} of Canadas invitation to join him in the War against the Foxes they say it is true he did send them a Message to that purpose but he sent them no Belt of Wampum & it is a Maxim amongst them, that if any body speaks to them he must give a Belt as the Gov^{r} of Canada gave none so they take no Notice of his Message.

They say they think there is some Poison at Oswego for many have died there (meaning that it is an Unhealthy place).

That they dont conceive the Truth of what the Gov^{r} tells them that the more Furrs w^{ch} come to Oswego the Cheaper Goods will be, for they must now pay 3 Bever Skins for a woman Petticoat, & they desire Goods may be sold cheaper & then all the far Nations will come & trade there.

The Gov^{r} answered. that whoever made them pay 3 Bevers for a Petticoat imposed on them & desired them to mark those Traders & not deal with them, for an honest Trader will give them 2 Petticoats for 3 Good Bevers.

The say the Land they are about selling to M^{r} Penn is a great Distance from where the Shawanas are settled

They say the Shawanas are disgusted at M^{r} Penn & that they beleive it is his fault that they design to remove themselves, (for they say,) [1] it is a Custom amongst the Christians when they buy Land of the [Christians] Indians to take in more than they agree for & they believe M^{r} Pen has encroached on the Lands of the Shawanas. & they desire the Gov^{r} will write to him about that Matter & be a Mediator between M^{r} Pen & those Indians to prevent (p. 183) their going to the French Settlements.

They say, " before there was an House in Albany & every Body lodged under the Leaves of the Trees the

[1] this Accusation is notoriously true & has been one among many other Causes of weakening our Influence over the Indians. the Inhabitants of this Colony, New Jersey & Pensilvania are so Land Mad that they are ready to destroy each other about their Boundaries & Titles & forever at Law.

Christians & we entered into a Cov^{t} of Friendship & the Indians loved the Christians on Acc^{t} that they sold them the Goods Cheap

"We shall not repeat a long Story of what happened between our Forefathers. We shall break off here. But we shall say in few words that our forefathers dealt uprightly & in simplicity, when they first began to trade they had Goods much cheaper than we have now. You said we had no Memories but it is written in our foreheads." [1]

The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} made a short reply in w^{ch} he said

"I am very sorry there has been any misunderstanding between M^{r} Penn & the Shawana Indians. I shall do my Endeavours to get a good Understanding betwixt them. but as no man can Answer for the Success of what he undertakes I recommend to you to keep the Shawanas among your selves as you have done the Tuscarores to prevent their going to the French."

Albany 2^{d} July 1737. The Speaker of the 6 Nations waited on the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} & said. "You told us that the Shawana Indians intended to remove from their habitations on the Susquahanna River to Tuchsagrondie & settle among the French Indians & you recommended to the Sachems of

[1] The Complaints of the Indians upon the dearness of Goods & the unfair treatment they meet with from the Traders, are so very frequent thro-ought the whole Records that tho I have several times noted 'em in these Abstracts I have more frequently omitted them. The Indians have often laid it down as a fundamental Maxim that their Connexions with us arose from & depended upon Trade, & even a superficial knowledge of Indian Affairs will point out that Truth. In the Indian Trade we have many natural & constitutional advantages over the French, & it is this w^{ch} has obliged the French to have recourse to so many Base & Artful Measures to carry on their Influence & Views with regard to the Indians, but more honesty & Generosity on our side would have in a great measure defeated the whole System of French Policy, but — but on the contrary we have aided their Views by our Dishonesty & Opression with regard to our Trade with the Indians & their Lands. by this means we have lost all that Dignity of Moral Character, w^{ch} let Politicians Act & say as they Please, is the true Foundation of National Grandeur & Influence. By our fruitless & ill conducted Expeditions against Canada we have given the Indians a contemptible Idea of our Martial prowess & Genius. On the contrary the French who have been more Active & Successful are more revered by them.

the 6 Nations that they should prevent their removal. I am come in their name to tell you that they will do all in their Power to prevent their removal & give them other Land among us in case it be sold to Gov^{r} Penn."

(P. 184.) Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Clarke having referred to the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Affairs to consider of & give their Opinion upon the Subject of the French getting leave from the Sennecas to build at Irondequat.

They give it as their Opinion, that some proper Persons be sent to reside amongst the Sennecas for the ensuing year & that they be furnished with presents to the value of £60 or £70. to distribute properly amongst the leading Sachems in order to keep them to the performance of the solemn promises they have made in the foregoing Conferrence not to suffer the French to build on any part of their Land.

They give it further as their Opinion that for the Security of the Indians & Fur Trade that a Fort be erected at Irondequat & a Garrison posted in it.

M^{r} Clarke being desirous of purchasing in His Majesties Name all the Indian Lands on the South side of Lake Cadaraqui or Lake Ontario from Oswego to the Falls of Niagara [in order] in order to erect a Fort at Irondequat, from the Onondaga Cayouge & Senneca Indians, he gave orders to the Interpreter to summons the Sachems of those Nations before him, but the Interpreter Laur Claasse (who afterwards confessed he mistook the Order) summon'd them to meet at the House of One Blicker & there made them his honours proposals for the aforesaid purchase. The Sachems made Answer, that the Two Cheif Propietors of s^{d} Lands were in the Sennecas Country & that the Sachems there present had no right to dispose of the same.

And that it had been formerly agreed on by the primative Owners of said Lands that they should remain for the use of their Childrens Children forever & not be sold to any Christians nor any settlements made on it, because on those Lands they get their Cheif support in Hunting & Fishing.

Gov^{r} Clarke was very angry the Interpreter should make this Proposal to them by himself & not bring the Sachems to him the

Interpreter excused himself as above. but I suspect the Interpreter was influenced by some Albanian Politics in this affair.

(P. 185.) Albany 1 July 1737. Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Clarke renews the Cov^{t} with the Schaahkook Indians & exhorts them not to seperate but live together & endeavour to bring back the deserted Indians to their Native Country.

They in return renew the Cov^{t} Chain on their side & promise to use their Endeavours to keep together in a Body & to prevail on those who have deserted to return.

23 July The Gov^{r} having appointed Laur Claasse & 5 other Persons to reside in the Sennecas Country for the Year unsuing, they are dispatched thither by the Commiss^{rs} with proper Instructions

2^{d} Jan^{ry} 1737/38 The Commiss^{rs} receive a Letter from Laur Claasse from the Sennecas Country wherein he writes. That there are Three Frenchmen there who have used all their Endeavours to get leave from the Indians to settle at Hierondequat, but that he has defeated all their Schemes & that they rather loose than gain ground. he writes that he believes he could now purchase the s^{d} Land from the Indians were he properly furnished, but that he dos not choose to lay out his own Money. he writes that the Sennecas are in a bad state by reason of the great Quantity of Rum w^{ch} is bro^{t} amongst them.

The Commiss^{rs} transmit a Copy of this Letter to the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} & recommend the furnishing Laur Claasse with Money to make the aforesaid purchase w^{ch} they say will not in their Opinion cost much

Albany 26 Jan^{ry} 1737/8. Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Clarke having referred the Four following Queries to the Commiss^{rs} viz

1. What number of Indians are within the Boundaries & imediate Influence of this Gov^{t} ?
2. What is the Strength of the Neighbouring Indians ?
3. What is the Strength of our European Neighbours French & Spanjards ?

4. What Effect have the French or Spanish Settlements on the Continent of America upon his Majesties Plantations especially this Colony ?

The Commiss^rs answer the aforesaid Queries in the following Manner.

To the 1^st The Six Nations of Indians including the River & Schaahkook Indians are about 1500 Fighting Men [1] of w^ch Number (p. 186) about ⅛ part incline to the French Interest, being partly overawed by Fear, the French having their Interpreter continualy among the Sennecas who has a great Influence over them, & they often send Messengers with presents among the Six Nations.

To the 2^d Quere.

The Indians living near the Neighbourhood of Montreal & Quebec are about 1000 fighting Men besides a vast number of other Forreign Indians where the French have 16 Fortifications amongst them.

To the 3^d Quere

The French Europeans settled on the River S^t Lawrence in Canada consisting of y^e Three Governments of Quebec, Montreal & Trois Rivieres computed at about 10,000 fighting Men including 32 Companies of Regular Forces.

Of Spanish Settlements none within the Boundaries of this Province.

To the 4^th Quere.

The Metropolis of New France is Quebec a Strong Fortified Town being inclosed in a very good Wall & has a strong Fort sittuated on a Rock, being the Sea Port on the North side of the River S^t Laurence; about 60 Leauges S. W. thereof is Montreal on the same side of the River, it is regularly Fortified & surrounded with a Strong Stone Wall, having Bastions & a large Trench round the N. E. & West sides thereof & to the South the River.

About 7 Leagus South from Montreal is a Village called Chambly sittuated on the River runing out of Corlaers Lake w^ch

[1] in the year 1711. 814 fighting Men of the Indians being then but 5 Nations besides Schaahkook River & High Land Indians joined our Army in the Exped^n against Canada of the 6 Nations in are reckoned fighting Men

by the French is called Lake Champlain & emptys itself into the River S^{t} Laurence at Soriel. there is a good strong Stone Fort at the side of the River at the upper end of a Bason.

They have also a very strong Fort to the West of Crown Point called by the French La Pointe au la Chevleares, at the side & South end of Corlaers Lake before mentioned about 70 Miles to the Northward of our farthest Settlements built in the Year 1736. for a Retreat when the French should at any time come to disturb or Anoy our Frontiers either in this Province or New England. They likewise by that means have extended their Limits having encroached upon Lands belonging to His Majesty.

They have likewise a Strong Fort at Cadaraqui at the N. E. end of the Lake Ontario w^{ch} empties itself in the River S^{t} Laurence, made there not only in order to entice the 6 Nations of Indians into their Interest & to have an awe over them,[1] but also (p. 187) for a retreat for the French when at any time they may Attack or Annoy the 6 Nations & likewise to hinder the irruption of the 6 Nations upon Canada in time of War.

They have also a Strong Fort at Niagara lying at the S. W. end of Cadaraqui Lake below the Falls of that name 3 Leagues, where there is a carrying Place, it borders near the 6 Nations & in a great Measure commands the Indian Trade from the Westward & overaws the Sennekas.[2]

They have the several Settlements as above observed, & Forts of Less Note among the upper Nations of Indians upon the Chief Passes where those Indians must come from their Hunting in order to intercept the Fur Trade & to keep an Awe & Command over them.

Albany 6 March 1737/8. The Commiss^{rs} send an Express to Laurence Claasse to the Sennecas Country to accquaint him that Deputies are Expected at Albany this Spring from the Cherokees & Cattabaws to make a firm Peace

[1] And upon Land belonging to the 6 Nations & contrary to their Consent as may be seen in the former part of these Abstracts.

[2] this Fort is also settled on Land belonging to the 6 Nations & surrended & subjected to the Crown by a solemn Deed in 1701. that surrender acknowledged & in effect renewed in 1726.

between them & the 6 Nations & direct him to publish this News amongst the Sennecas & the rest of the 6 Nations & use his best Endeavours to prevent any of them from going out a fighting against those Nations.

27 May 1738. In a Letter of the Commiss^{rs} to the Gov^{r} Clarke they refer him to theirs of the 2^{d} Jan^{ry} last about enabling Laur Claasse to purchase the Land at Irondequat from the Indians, they say they continue to think he may yet do it on easy Terms & that if he dos not the French will, & that some Sachems have declared themselves of the same Opinion.

1 June the Commiss^{rs} write Laur Claasse to purchase as much Land about Irondequat from the Indians in His Majesties Name as he can & they doubt not the Assembly will make the purchase Money good to him.

(P. 188.) Albany 26 July 1738. Laur. Claasse the Interpreter being returned from the Sennecas Country where he had resided for near a year past makes the following report to the Commiss^{rs} —

That upon several Indians going out to fight against the Cherokees & Cattabaws he had endeavoured in conjunction with several Sachems to stop them, but they made answer that he was certainly jesting with them for if Corlaer wanted them not to go he ought according to Custom to have sent a Belt of Wampum, but as Laur. Claasse spoke without one they should not lay aside their Expedition.

That after much Enquiry & with some Difficulty some of the Chief Sachems & Warriors did confess they had given Jean Coeur leave to build a House at Irondequat. who had made them many fair Promises &^{c} that upon Laur. Claasse^{s} representing to them the many fatal Consequences w^{ch} would ensue to them & all the British Subjects in North America by giving the French Possession of that Post, & putting them in Mind under what artful Pretences & with how many fair & false Promises the French

had deceived them into the Building at Niagara &c The Sachems met the day after & told Laur Claasse that they had expressly forbid Jean Coeur to build at Irondequat & that they would never suffer a Frenchman to settle there.

That upon his Departure he had convened the Sachems & told them his time of Residence was now expired & desired to know if they had anything to say to the Govr or the Commissrs — They said they had staid at home from Hunting in expectation of the Deputies of the Cherokees & Cattabaws coming to Albany according to the Message they had received from Corlaer. but they found now those Nations had cheated them for they had lately murdered a Caouge Indian.

They further desired a Smith might be sent them. That he parted from the Sennecas Country with Jean Coeur who went to Canada in Compy with 14 Indians & 6 Squaas. —

25 Augt 1738. The Commissrs write a Letter to the Lieut Govr & accquaint him that some Deputies from the Mohawks have been with them & proposed to send Ambassadors from the 6 Nations by Sea to Virginia in order to treat of Peace with the Southward Indians as the time for their coming hither is elapsed. but the Commissrs say they think this is all Sham as numbers of their Warriors are going out a fighting & the War seems to be carried on with (p. 189) Additional Vigor. The Commissrs recommend to his honr his Endeavrs to bring about a Peace between our Indians & those to the S.ward as an Event wch will be very beneficial to all his Majesys Colonies in N. America.

They earnestly recommend that Irondequat may be taken into our Possession at the Charge of the Province wch will prevent the French making a Settlement there wch if they do will be a very great prejudice to the Fur Trade & Security of this Colony.[1] —

[1] Irondequat is about 40 Miles West of Oswego on the S. side of Lake Ontario.

Albany 7. of October 1738. Gov^{r} Clarke Issues a New Commiss^{n} for Indian Affairs, w^{ch} sets forth that whereas the Gen^{l} Assembly of this Province in an Address to him had given it as their Opinion that the Commiss^{rs} for Indian Affairs had generally been too Numerous by w^{ch} the public Expence hath been increased, and that they thought Nine in Number were suff^{t} Three of whom to be a Quorum. The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} accordingly in this Commiss^{n} nominates Nine Persons as Commiss^{rs} for Indian Affairs.

6 Jan^{ry} 1738/9. I find an Oath of Fidelity Administred to the Interpreter. — And this is the first I find recorded throughout the whole Indian Records. — It surely dos not require any detail of Reasoning to evince how very important the Capacity & Integrity of an Interpreter is to the public. how well Qualified former Interpreters have been I cannot judge. but as to the Capacity of the present One, it is well known & I dare venture to pronounce it very unequal to his office. he may understand the Indian Language, but I am confident he is a very indiff^{t} Judge either of the English or Dutch, I have tried him in both & can scarce make Sense [out of him] when he translates out of Indian into either. As to his honesty I know nothing about it.

The Salary is £60. p^{r} An^{m} this Curr^{y} tis [much] too little for any Man of Genius & Character. They have always been Indian Traders they never ought to be any ways concerned for manefest Reasons. by residing in or about Albany they will be subject to a partial Influence. however as One must be there, I think there ought to be Two, & One to reside at New York under the Gov^{rs} imediate Comm^{d} —

(P. 190.) Albany 7. June 1739. The Commiss^{rs} receive Advice that the French were preparing to settle some Families along the Wood Creek w^{ch} is between Albany & Crown Point & a place the Lieut Gov^{r} had appointed to settle some Scotch Highlanders who were expected over & many Miles within the undoubted Boundaries of this Province.

Upon w^ch^ by his honours Directions the Commiss^rs^ write to the Rev^d^ M^r^ Barclay Missionary amongst the Mohawks to dispatch some Sachems of that Nation to the Wood Creek to see if thee French are there if not to go to the Crown Point to tell them that the said Land belongs to the Crown of Great Britain & forbid them to settle there.[1]

11 July. Sundry Mohawk Sachems come to Albany in order to confer with the Commiss^rs^ upon the Intelligence that the French intend to make a Settlement at the Wood Creek, they own themselves sensible of the Injustice & bad Consequences of such an Encroachment of the French & are ready & willing to go & warn them not to Attempt such a settlement. They say in their Conferrence. "That the Lands at the Wood Creek, Crown Point & as far North as Ochjarego belong all to us, & all the Lands on both sides the Lake[2] as far as Ochjarego[3] & all the Lands on the carrying place to the Southward of Crown Point belong all to the 6 Nations"

7. Aug^t^ The Mohawk Deputies return from Crown Point where the French Officer received them very kindly heard their Message but said he could give no Answer to it, but would send it to the Gov^r^ from whom they should hear.

11 Aug^t^ M^r^ Myndertse who was Commissioned as Resident amongst the Sennecas returns & reports that during his abode there several French Emissarys have been amongst them to prevail on them to join the French Army who are marching against the Chickasaws a Nation bounding on Virginia & Georgia, but that by his Influence & Management not one Seneca would (p. 191) consent to go with them w^ch^ was a great Disappointment to the French.

That Jean Coeur is labouring & using every Artifice in his power to get leave to build himself a House at Irondequat, but M^r^ Myndertse defeated his Intrigues &

[1] There is a note on Mr. Barclay in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi, p. 88. — Ed.

[2] Lake Sacrament [3] I take to be Otters Creek

to prevent any such Settlement a Senneca Sachem is gone to settle there himself & desires the Commiss^rs would send up some Neighbours for him at least to stay this Winter. —

Albany 10 Sep^r 1739. A Deputation from the Mohawks to the Commiss^rs They say they have not yet received the Gov^r of Canadas Answer about the Settlement at Wood Creek but expect it speedily.

They say the Cov^t Chain with the upper & Western Nations is not kept so bright as formerly, & that the French on the contrary have so great an Influence over them that they direct them as they please.[1]

That they hear the Sennecas are going in conjunction with other Western Indians to join the French Army against the Chickasaws, & that proper Persons should be sent to reside amongst the Sennecas to support the Interest & Influence of this Gov^t [2]

That they think the French should by no Means be suffered to settle Irondequat & that the only effectual Prevention will be for us to make a Settlement there w^ch they are assured the Sennecas will consent to.

The above Intimations from the Mohawks were communicated (p. 192) to the Lieu^t Gov^r in a Letter from the Commiss^rs who say they hope the Assembly will enable his honour to settle Irondequat & that the Sennecas make us the Offer to do it & are desirous

[1] this Observation of the Mohawks seems to be well grounded, for I have not met with any conference or Negotiation in the Records for several years past with the Western Indians. Whether the Trade being opened again between Albany & Canada prevented it I cant be possitive, but it seems likely, for y^e other ceased from y^t time. Trade with them there was at Oswego, but no Negotiations.

[2] this also was prudent Advice & when a good Choice has been made always turned out to our Advantage, tis there the French chiefly push their Politics & tis there we should be prepared to resist them. I make no doubt from M^r Clarke's great Capacity this would have been done & Irondequat put under the Marks of Possession. but he was distressed by Faction, & what has been often & I fear will be long the Fate of this Colony the public good & many salitary measures sacrifized to that Personal Animosity w^ch takes the lead amongst People of the chief Capacity in this Country w^ch is aided by the Ignorance & mean subserviency *of a Body of Men* who are led in strings like Calves. Gov^rs also have wanted Spirit, Integrity or Capacity to over awe these Factious Leaders.

we should that otherwise the French certainly will do, w^ch^ must very much distress our Fur Trade & encrease their Influence over the Western Indians & the Sennecas. (Vide the note.) [1]

Albany 24 Sep^r^ 1739. Four Persons are Commissioned by the Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ to be residents among the Sennecas in behalf of this Gov^t^ for the Space of One year who receive proper Instructions to support the British Interest & Influence amongst the 6 Nations & the far Indians in Opposition to the French Intrigues & Designs. And to tell the Sennecas [the] we expect shortly that a small Party of Men will be sent to settle at Irondequat.

8 Octo^r^ In a Letter from the Commiss^rs^ to the Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ is the following Paragraph.

"We have been in expectation that the assembly would have raised a fund to have enabled us to send four Men to take possession in a formal Manner of Irondequat in his Majesties Name & keep it till they be relieved by others — We shall use our Endeavours to get People to go on Credit of the Gov^t^ but doubt much whether we shall be able to get proper Persons to go, while for [2] Three years past no Manner of Provision has been made [3] for those who resided in the Sennecas Country.

(P. 193.) Albany 26 October 1739. The Gov^r^ of Canada's Answer to the Message sent to him in July last by four Mohawk Indians in the Name of that Nation about settling at the Wood Creek. viz.

"That the King of France claims all the Land South, North, West & East lying on all the Rivers & Creeks that empty

[1] Apparently note 2 on page 214 is meant. — Ed.

[2] [Whether] what Light this places the Assembly in, let those who peruse these Abstracts judge, & if they will attend to & recollect [to] those Reflect^ns^ w^ch^ are put down in the manner of Notes to these Papers they may enter into & be tollerable Judges of the Merits of the Cause, Discretion will not admit my being so explicit as I [could be] might on this Subject.

[3] by the Assembly. Gov^r^ Clarke had been at this time in the Chair of Gov^t^ about three years. he was kept in a state of Warfare. his Abilities & knowledge of the various Interests of this Cont^t^ in general & this Colony in ^P^ticular (as I have heard from good Judges) were never exceeded by any man. —

themselves towards Canada even to the Carrying Place & Lake of St. Sacrament & that he will not suffer the English to make any Settlements upon any of these Lands —— but notwithstanding he would give all his right to the forementioned Land from the Crown Point to the Carrying Place to our Mohawks & his Indians as a deed of Gift to make use of it for a hunting Place for them & their Posterity at y^e^ same time assured them no French should settle there."

17 December 1739. I find a new Commission for Indian Affairs Issued by Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ Clarke in w^ch^ 16 Persons living at Albany are nominated besides the Gent^n^ of His Majesties Council

19 March 1739/40 An [Oneida] Onondaga Indian is sent down by his Castle to the Commiss^rs^ with 7. hands of Wampum to accquaint them that the Sachems of their Castle intend as soon as the Waters are open to go to Canada to condole the Death of Jean Coeur & to invite the other Sachems of the 5 Nations to join them in this Ceremony. — Upon this Laur. Claasse is sent to the Mohawks & to the Oneidas to influence them to prevent this Embassy & that no Belt of Wampum be sent by the other 5 Nat^s^ to accquaint them that the Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ intends to meet them in the Spring & that he would take it extreamly ill to have them absent in Canada condoling the Death of a Man who had ever been an inveterate Enemy to this Colony. to inform them also that open war was declared between the English & the Spanjards but not yet with the French & when that happened they should know —

31 March 1740 — Laur Claasse returns from the Above Journey & reports that the Mohawks would not join in the Embassy or sending a Belt of Wampum to Canada until they had spoken with the Lieu^t^ Gov^r^ The Oneidas said they did not intend to go to Canada & the reason was that no Conference had been held with them by the Gov^r^ for so long a time. They add,

You may say that Love & Affection may be as strong in Absence as when present but we say not, (P. 194.) Nothing more revives & enlivens affection than frequent Conferences. [1]

Albany 11 April 1740. [a] Messages are dispatched thro the 6 Nations to accquaint them that Gov[r] Clarke cannot meet them so early this Summer as he intended because he is ordered by the King to stay at New York to forward the Levies raising for the West Indies, but that he will meet them as soon as possible. And to tell them not to go out against the Southern Indians because he has a power from them to make a Peace with the 6 Nations.

16 Aug[t] 1740. Lieu[t] Gov[r] Clarke meets the 6 Nations at Albany & opens the Conference with a very Eloquent & pathetic Speech —

He tells them the reason he did not meet them last year was upon Account of the small Pox then at New York & was affraid lest the Infection of that Disorder so fatal to them might be brought up there. he represents to them the Arts of the French in deluding their Warriors to join in their Parties against the Forreign Indians & exposes to them their own Weakness in being seduced to go out to War against the Nations who have never offended them, that it is both unmanly & impolitic. that they are thereby weakening themselves & aiding the Ambitious & insidious Designs of the French who when they have by these Means weakened & diminished their Numbers & strengthened their own Interest & Allies will root out & destroy the 6 Nations. he places before them in an opposite View, the pacific Dispositions the Benevolent & Friendly Conduct of the English towards the Forreign Indians & themselves & tells them they may hence see

[1] this Observation of Oneida Sachems is I believe very just with regard to the Indians, as far as the public can bear the Expence they should provide for them as frequently as possible. for the French are ever watchful to improve their Interest on our Neglect. Unless the Assembly make a Provision a Gov[r] cannot go up to Albany. this they generally do every other Year, unless want of Confidence or the Machinations of Faction prevents. It was now 3 years almost since M[r] Clarke met them, prevented [because] by the Small Pox.

[the different conduct] how much more amiable & trustworthy the Conduct of the English is who breath the Spirit of Liberty & independance than of the French who thirsting for Arbitrary Power would make Slaves of all Mankind. he concludes this part of his Speech by telling them that he now renews & brightens the Cov^{t} Chain, & expects they will do the same.

he reproaches the Onondaga Sachems with going to speak to the Gov^{r} of Canada before he had this Conference with y^{e} 6 Nations.

he commends them for not suffering the French to make (p. 195) any Settlement at Irondequat, & lays before them the ill Consequences if ever they suffer it.

he tells them he has Orders from the Great King their Father to conclude a general Peace between them & all the Indians to the Southward & Westward of them & that those Indians have desired him to negotiate the same who would have sent their Deputies but the present War with Spain prevents it, however he Solemnly engages on their Behalf. he tells them that it is his Majesties Royal Pleasure that all the Nations of Indians to the Westward & Southward even as far as the River Missisipi shall live together in a Strict union as Bretheren of the same Family, & that they communicate to each other any Attempts w^{ch} may be formed against any of them by their & our Enemies whenever it comes to their knowledge this he faithfully promises shall be done on the part of Southward & Westward Indians. That this Strict Union & Friendship is a Matter detirmined on & Commanded by his Majesty & that he doth now admit the aforesaid Indians into the Cov^{t} Chain to all intents & purposes as fully as if they had been born in the Castles of the 6 Nations or in our own houses, And as a Memorial of this Peace & Union he gives them a Belt of Wampum to be preserved & kept by them forever —

Albany 19 Aug^{t} 1740. The 6 Nations Answer the foregoing Speech of Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Clarke.

They renew on their side the Antient Cov^{t} Chain, & promise on their parts that it shall endure to the End of the World.

They beg the Gov^{r} to excuse the Onondaga Sachems who are gone to Canada & say they are gone there to do good for the whole Community.

They say as to Irondequat they are fully resolved neither we nor [1] the French shall settle there, they say there is a Jealousy between us & the Gov[t] of Canada & therefore if they should suffer either of us to settle there it would breed Mischeif, that Oswego & Niagara are near enough & that Trading houses too near generally Quarrel about Trade. (P. 196.) They say that in comformity to His Majesties their Fathers Commands they Accept all the Indians under His protection as Bretheren that they may be united as One Body, One Heart & One Flesh according to the Kings Commandment. But they desire that some Sachems of the Southward Indians may come to Albany to Strengthen & Confirm this Union, & they will give them Two years time to come.

They say formerly they were but 5 Nations but now so many to the Northward & Southward are entered into the Cov[t] Chain that they are innumerable, that they must accquaint them all with this Union to keep them at home from going a fighting. —

They accept the Belt in token of the aforesaid Union to be kept at Onondaga & that when the Southward Indians come here they will give them a Belt in Answer to it.

The Gov[r] replied

That as to the Southward Indians coming hither it was not possible, that he stood in their stead & by his Majesties Command was to make a firm Union between them & that unless they gave a Belt in return for that he gave them to send to the Gov[r] of Virginia as a proof that they consented to this Union he could not give them the presents from the Gov[r] of Virginia.

They Answer

That since the Gov[r] is as fully impowered to fix this Peace & Union as if the Southward Indians were themselves present they do consent to the same, join them in the Cov[t]

[1] to preserve the Ballance between us & the French is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics. I believe their Affections are in our Favour, but their Fears are on the French side. Our Conduct has & I fear still continues to weaken the Former while the French apply themselves to increase the latter principle. Thus while the Indians promise us fair & even mean it, the French over-awe them from acting up to their Inclinations.

Chain & shall ever look upon them as their Bretheren & as they have never yet violated any Treaties so they will keep this Inviolable to the End of the World & they give a Belt to be sent to the Gov^{r} of Virginia as an everlasting Token of this Peace.

The Gov^{r} then gave them the Presents.

After this Conferrence M^{r} Clarke renewed the Cov^{t} & spoke to the Scaachkook Indians & gave them some Presents. but in this Conference I find nothing Material enough to find place in these Abstracts

Albany 24 Sep^{r} 1740. The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} having appointed some Persons with a Smith to reside in the Sennecas Country the Commiss^{rs} give them the proper Instructions upon their going thither.

17 Feb^{ry} 1740/41. The Commiss^{rs} in their Letter to the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} write that it is very necessary to enlarge & Strengthen the House at Oswego by some Fortifications & a reinforcement by some Indians of the 6 Nations & they hope the Assembly will raise Money for that purpose, or it will if Attacked fall an easy prey to the French w^{ch} they think would be the means of loosing the Attachment of the 6 Nations & turn them upon us.

(P. 197.) Some of the Onondaga Sachems having been at Canada last Summer & having had a Conference with the Gov^{r} there, the Commiss^{rs} were informed that they had consented to the French destroying our Trading House at Oswego. Whereupon the Interpreter was sent to Onondaga to know the Truth of this Information — And the 4 March 1740/41 Laurence Claasse returned with a Deputation of Sachems from the 6 Nations who accquaint the Commiss^{rs} & assure them that such a Report was Malicious, False & Groundless & wonder the Commiss^{rs} would give Credit to so ungenerous an Imputation. that they were sensible of the Benefit & Advantage of the House at Oswego to themselves as well as the Forreign Indians. that they had agreeable to the several repeated Exhortations given them endeavoured & bro^{t} into our Cov^{t} Chain several Nations of Indians Children to the Gov^{r} of Canada. That their chief

Errand to Canada was to treat with the Gov^{r} & the Cacknawaga Indians about a Neutrality in Case of a War between the French & us & w^{ch} the say both the Gov^{r} & the Indians seem inclined to.[1]

Albany 18 June 1741. The Indians of the 6 Nations particularly the Sennecas, the Cayouges, the Onondagas & Oneidas being in great want of Provisions in their country a considerable Quantity of Indian Corn is ordered for them & a Message dispatched to them for each Nation to send for the Quantity alotted them

12 Aug^{t} a Deputation of Onondaga & Cayouge Sachems acquaint the Commiss^{rs} that there has been a general Meeting of the 6 Nations at Onondaga wherein it was unanimously resolved to defend Oswego against any attempts of the French & a Deputation was dispatched to the Gov^{r} of Canada to accquaint him with their Resolutions.

They say further that formerly the French & their Nations had War together but that a Gov^{r} of Canada having sent Deputies to Onondaga to make (p. 198) Peace & that accordingly a Peace was concluded, & the 5 Nations engaged never more to make War upon the French unless they should shed the Blood of their People & that if any difference arose between the English & French the 5 Nations were to be Mediators between them.

Their Deputies therefore who are gone to Canada are to tell the Gov^{r} that they desire their allies the French & English shall not make War upon each other & that they are resolved to defend the House at Oswego against any Body that shall anoy the same. Upon w^{ch} they are to deliver a large Black Belt of Wampum.

[1] It hath been the Antient Albany Policy in the times of a French War by the Interest & Influence of the 5 Nations over their Bretheren the Cacknawaga Indians of Canada to fix a Neutrality in favour of this Colony, by w^{ch} means their Trade flourished & their Lives & properties were secure, while the French & their Indians plundered & destroyed the Inhabitants of the other British Colonies. this may be good Policy if this Colony is to be considered as an Indep^{t} People but as a joint Interest with the rest of the British Colonies appears to me to be only reconcilable to Dutch Generosity & Patriotism. the New Eng^{d} People have taxed the Albanians with the selling the French Amunition to destroy them, & say they have seen their own Goods purchased from the French Indians at Albany.

In reciting the Message their Deputies were to deliver to the Gov^{r} of Canada they mentioned that they had given the French leave to build the House at Niagara as they had to us to build one at Oswego & desired no Molestation might be on either side. Upon w^{ch} the Commiss^{rs} in their Answer say thus. " You tell us that you have given priveledge to the French to settle Niagara & to us to settle Oswego & it seems you reckon their right to the former as good as ours to the latter; In which we think is a great difference, for Oswego was settled by consent of the Six Nations & Niagara was built against their Inclinations & without their Orders. You say the Land at Niagara belongs to you, we know it dos, but at the same time you very well know that all the Lands belonging to the Six Nations have long ago been given under the Protection of the King of Great Britain w^{ch} the French very well know & have owned in the Articles of Peace made over Sea. Wherefore we think there is a great difference between the Settlement we have made at Oswego & the French at Niagara." [1]

Albany 16 Aug^{t} 1741. A Sennica Indian who was sent down to [desire] accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that they are in want of Provisions & to desire some (p. 199) Pouder & Lead may be given them to go Hunting, informed the Commiss^{rs} that the upper Castles of the Sennecas to whom the Land at Irondequat belongs, [that the Indians of said Castle] are willing & desirous that their Bretheren the English should

[1] the Commiss^{rs} State of the Case is just. And from the various parts of these Abstracts it may be collected as a Fact, that the French have no just Title to any Lands on the South side of S^{t} Laurence River as far North as Lake Champlain, nor to the South sides of Lake Ontario & Erie, nor to the Lands between the 3 Lakes, Hurons Erie & Ontario as described is Popples Map; & in some Maps published by Jefferies last year he I believe justly extends the Lands of the 6 Nations as far West as the South end of Lake Illinois. Thus Crown Point Fort — Fort Frontenac — Fort Niagara & one or two other Forts to the Westward of Niagara now in the Possession of the French are Encroachments upon the 6 Nations built against their Consent, & they having by a Voluntary & solemn Act & frequently repeated put themselves & their Lands under the protection of the Crown of Great Britain those Lands are within its proper Jurisdiction & to be Esteemed part of the Dominions of Great Britain by the Laws of Nature & of Nations & the French can hold their s^{d} Forts by no other Tenure than Louis 14^{ths} Ultima Ratio Regum

make a Settlement there. — this Information was transmitted by the Commiss^rs to the Lieu^t Gov^r

Albany 30 Aug^t 1741. The Commiss^rs having sent a Message to the Cacknawaga Indians of Canada to desire to Speak with them (in order to agree with them upon a Neutrality in Case of a French War) Some of their Sachems come to Albany & tell the Commiss^rs that the rest of the Sachems were abroad upon Buisness & that they are too few to do Buisness, but come to let them know their Message was kept in remembrance.

By the Commiss^rs Answer I find they looked upon this Embassy to be evasive & that these Indians were not yet agreed whether they should stand Neuter in case of a War

The Scaahkook & River Indians having been to Negotiate a Treaty with several Tribes of Northern & Eastern Indians return to Albany with several Deputies of the said Indians the 1 Sep^r 1741. & Accquaint the Commiss^rs that they have entered into a Cov^t of Peace & Friendship with the aforesaid Indians & have included therein all his Majesties Subjects in America. This the said Indians also Confirm & tell the Commiss^rs that they propose to be here in the Spring to confirm the Cov^t with this Gov^t upon which they presented the Calumet of Peace to be kept at Albany as a Solemn Memorial of their Union with all his Majesties Subjects in America.

The Commiss^rs accede to the Peace & Accept the Calumet.

3 October 1741. Two Mohawk Sachems complain to the Commiss^rs that whereas in former Days the Indians lived near each other in their several Tribes but that now they are become a Scattered People & that great Numbers are removed to Canada & elsewhere & that they fear those who are left will soon be gone. They therefore (p. 200) desire some Persons may be sent thro the 6 Nations to inspect into this Matter.

The Interpreter & another Person are accordingly sent, & they are instructed [to] earnestly to exhort the Indians not to seperate but to live in their Castles &

represent to them the ill consequences of this seperate way of Life &c

5 October 1741. The Commiss^rs write to the Lieu^t Gov^r on the foregoing Subject & what they have done. they propose that 100 lb of Pouder & Lead in ^Pportion should be lodged at each of their Castles in order to keep them from settling at a Distance as scarcity of Provisions is partly the reason & also that the French endeavour to draw them towards Cadaraqui Lake. but the Commiss^rs say the Allowance of the Assembly for Indian Affairs is neither suff^t to execute this Scheme nor many others w^ch would be of great Advantage & Security to the public. — & beg his Hon^r will make a proper Representation of this Matter to the Assembly.

11 Jan^ry 1741/2 The Commiss^rs accquaint the Lieu^t Gov^r that the French have sent great Presents to Niagara to be distributed amongst the 6 Nations in order to prevail on them to join a French Armament w^ch is going on an Expedition against the Southward Indians, but as they were sending the Token w^ch the said Indians had sent to His hon^r that they would observe the Treaty of Peace w^ch he made last year between them & the 6 Nations through the s^d 6 Nations the Commiss^rs were in hopes by the means of this Token & the remonstrances w^ch would be made to them to prevent the 6 Nations from joining the French in the s^d Expedition.

They also Accquaint the Gov^r that Laurence Claasse the Interpreter is Dead & that they shall in their next recommend another in his Room

26 Jan^ry A Deputation of the Cayouges, Oneidas & Tuscarores come to Albany & accquaint the Commiss^rs that it is the Unanimous Resolution of the 6 Nations that none of their People shall go out a fighting to the Southward for these 2 years & in token of their Sincerity they give a Belt in behalf of their Nations.

They say also that according to the desire of the Commiss^{rs} they will live nearer to their Castles. & endeavour to bring the Sennecas to build their Castle where the Commiss^{rs} have recommended.

They desire a Smith may be posted for one year in Cayouge & say they cannot do without one. (P. 201.) The Commiss^{rs} Answer, that they are pleased at their resolution of observing the Treaty with the Southward Indians, but this is to be done not only for Two years but forever.

That they shall have a Smith according to their Desire

Albany 3^{d} April 1742. Jacobus Bleeker is appointed Interpreter in the room of Laurence Claasse deceased & swore into the office

3 May. The Commiss^{rs} write the Gov^{r} & complain of the Assemblys not making suff^{t} Provision for their carrying on the Managment of Indian Affairs. They say they hear His hon^{r} dos not intend to meet the Indians at the time he formerly designed upon Acc^{t} that Gov^{r} Clinton is expected over but they hope if M^{r} Clinton doth not arive timely is hon^{r} will come up as the Indians expect him & stay at home to be ready when called upon. They say in y^{r} Letter

" We are sorry your Honour is to be superseeded, seeing you have always had the Interest of this Gov^{t} so much at Heart but since it is his Majesties Pleasure we must be satisfied."

14 May M^{r} Van Slyck returned from the Sennecas Country & brought with him a String of Wampum from the chief Sachem of that Nation & with the consent of the other Sachems, whereby they send word to the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} & the Commiss^{rs} that they consent to sell a certain Tract of Land lying at Irondequat & desire a House may be imediately built thereon & they engage that it shall meet with no Molestation or Opposition & they desire some fit Person or Persons may be sent up to survey the Land. —

14 June. The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} having called the 6 Nations together at Albany they accordingly came & their Sachems waited

upon his Hon^{r} & informed him that a Southern Indian had been amongst them he was sent by his Countrymen to accquaint the 6 Nations that they were disposed to a Peace & Union with them & that next Spring some of their Sachems would come & bring some Prisoners of the 6 Nations with them in order firmly to fix & establish the Peace between them, & to intreat them to join the s^{d} Southern Indians in extirpating the Cattabaws their Enemies.

That the 6 Nations had accepted the s^{d} Proposals of Peace & given the Messenger a Large Belt of Wampum as a token of their Sincerity. But as to the Cattabaws they had made no Answer on that head. for w^{ch} His hon^{r} commended them as they were Indians subject to the Crown of Great Britain —

(P. 202.) Albany 15 June 1742. The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} Speaks in public to the 6 Nations — He puts them in mind that in his last public Conference with them he had proposed a Union between them & all the Indians under his Majesties Protection as far as the River Missisipi, that they had approved of this Proposal & united all the said Indians in the Cov^{t} Chain with them. That he had transmitted to the Gov^{rs} of the Southern Provinces an Account of this Engagment into w^{ch} the 6 Nations had entered & had in return received the Tokens w^{ch} he now lays before them from the s^{d} Indians whereby they desire the Cov^{t} Chain into which the 6 Nations have taken them may be kept inviolable. he then proceeds to exhort the 6 Nations to be faithful & punctual to the Engagments they have entered into & tells them it is the only Method to secure them against the Ambitious Views & pernicious Designs of the French, who have engaged & cajolled them into War against those Indians in order to waste them & destroy those Nations who are Enemies to the Tyranny & Arbitrary Measures of the French —

The Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} renews the Cov^{t} Chain between them & us. He tells them that it is with great concern that he understands most of the 6 Nations have of late years dispersed themselves

forgetting their Antient Custom of dwelling together in Castles. he exhorts them to return to their Primitive Way of Living as it will add to their Strength & enlarge their Influence, he tells them the Sennecas & Cayouges have promised to do this.

he tells them that as Oswego is a place of great Security & Advantage to them & as he doubts not they are from Experience sensible of it, so he proposes to build a Wall round the Trading House there that it may be in a capacity to resist the Attacks of an Enemy, And that if the French should become Masters of that important place they would have the Trade in their own power, put what prices they please upon their Goods, by that means impoverish them & reduce them to Slavery their great Aim, he therefore exhorts them to beware of the French Intrigues & not suffer any of their Emissaries to reside Amongst them.

16 June. The 6 Nations Answer.

They give a String of Wampum in token of their Acceptance & Approbations of the Peace between them & the Southern Indians, & desire they may see One of each Nation at Albany in order fully & firmly to cement the same. They renew the Cov^{t} Chain & give (p. 203) A Belt of Wampum in token thereof. They approve of the Gov^{rs} Exhortation to live in their Castles as formerly & say they are Glad the Sennecas & Cayouges have promised to do so on their parts.

They approve of the Building a Wall round Oswego.

They promise their Warriors shall no more assist the French in their Hostilities against the Forreign Indians & that for the future they will not suffer the French Emissaries to reside amongst them. as token whereof they give a Belt of Wampum.

As to the Southward Indians coming to Albany the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} told them as the Great King our Father was engaged in a War against the Spanjards & those Indians lived near their Settlements he could not undertake for their coming here till that War was ended. —

He then gave them the presents.

Gov^{r} Clarke spoke also to the Schaahkook Indians exhorted them to live in Peace with the Christians who were settled round about them. that he was glad to hear they had made a Peace with the

Assehicantecook Indians [1] who he was informed were expected here & that he should leave directions with the Commiss[rs] concerning them. That he was glad to hear they had got some of their Bretheren back who had deserted from them & encouraged them to try to get as many more as they could.

he renewed the Cov[t] with them & gave them some Presents.

Albany 18 June 1742. The Senneca Sachems appeared before the Board & acknowledged to the Commiss[rs] that they have sold the Land at Irondequat to Arent Steevens in behalf & for the use of this Gov[t] Whereupon the Commiss[rs] ordered these Three Sachems presents in return for the Purchase & Presents for another Owner of the said Land who did not come with them.

They confirm the sale in the Presence of the Commiss[rs]

14 Sep[r] 1742. M[r] Andris Brat appointed Commissary at Oswego returns to Albany & reports.

That the Ottawawa Indians have this Summer been to Canada at the desire of the Gov[r] there. They told the s[d] Brat that they were surprized our Gov[r] had not sent to speak with them & renew the Cov[t] between Our Gov[t] & them as they bring all their Goods (p. 204) to Oswego & think they ought to have been invited down as well as the 6 Nations.

he also Informed the Board that a French Smith is now at Onondaga with his Wife & Family, & that the Onondagas had given the s[d] Brat 7 hands of Wampum to desire the French may not be disturbed in their Passage by Oswego.[2]

[1] See page 230. — Ed.

[2] the Reception of this French Smith after their late promises to the contrary is a Strong Proof how little dependance is to be made upon the Promises of the Indians. whose Modern Character is certainly want of sincerity. I very much suspect that we have debauched them in this particular, as I am positive we have in many others. a Smith is so necessary a Person amongst the Indians & they are so frequently begging & praying to be supplied with them, that I wonder such a Disposition has not been made that they may never want. the difficulty of getting Smiths to live among the Indians has been mentioned in the Records but I believe a larger Allowance would remove it & as they have always an Influence upon the Indians, care should be taken to prevent the French from sending any.

Albany 28 Sep^{r} 1742. a Deputation from the Cacknawaga, Schawendes & Orondax Indians [1] living in & about Canada arrive & told the Commiss^{rs} that as they had often been desired to come & renew the Treaty between them say they were now come to do it.

The Commiss^{rs} repeated the Substance of the Treaty w^{ch} was made with them 7 years ago, w^{ch} was that in case a War should break out between the Kings of England & France the said Indians should keep a Neutrality towards all his Majesties Subjects in N. America. That they in return should have free Access & Ingress to this Place with Liberty of Trade & all the Privelidges of such as are in a Cov^{t} with us. And they say the reason [the reason] they were desired to come hither was to put them in Mind of & to renew this Cov^{t} —

The Indians express their great Satisfaction at the good Dispositions of this Gov^{t} to renew & preserve this Treaty aforesaid & say they do in the presence of the 5 Nations (some Mohawk Sachems were present) give a Belt of Wampum as a Token that they will ever observe this Treaty & Cov^{t} inviolable. —

1 Dec^{r} 1742. The Commiss^{rs} write the Lieu^{t} Gov^{r} that having sent some Persons with a Smith to reside in the Sennecas Country they had on their Arrival found the House in w^{ch} our People used to live demolished by the French & that by distributing large Presents among the s^{d} Indians the French had prevailed upon 50 of the Sennecas (p. 205) to go out with their Parties to fight against the Flat heads of S. Carolina, & that it was very necessary our Residents should be supplied with Presents to counter ballance those of the French, but that the Allowance from the Assembly for Indian Affairs was so small that it was already Exhausted & they had no money to lay out for the aforesaid Purpose. —

[1] The Schawendes or Scawendadyes were according to Colden Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains in Canada.

Orondax = Adirondacks, living in Canada. — Ed.

Gov^r Clarke I find Answers this Letter w^ch is not recorded, but in the Commiss^rs Answer to it they say. "We are convinced your Honour has done your utmost Endeavour to induce the Assembly to Augment our Allowance."

I find the French Interest among our 6 Nations so prevailing that some of every Nation but the Mohawks joined the French in their Parties against the Southern Indians. And the Sachems say they could not hinder some of their Young Men from going out. An Engagement had happened in the Province of Virginia between these Parties in w^ch some of the 6 Nations were killed & some of the White Inhabitants of Virginia.

Several Messages passed between the Commiss^rs & the 6 Nations relating to the above Skirmish in Virginia; the People of Virginia accuse the Indians as the first Aggressors & the Indians them. however the 6 Nations say they are well inclined to make up this Breach & to live in Peace & Friendship & they desire the Gov^r of Virginia may meet them at Albany in order to accomodate all Matters.

Albany 14 June 1743. Two Asschicantecook or Eastern Sachems come to Albany in the Name of their Nation & say they are detirmined to keep the Neutrality w^ch had been agreed on between them & this Gov^t in case of a War between the French & us & that they will come to & from Albany to Trade &^c

The Commiss^rs receive their Message kindly & promise them Security & protection from us.

30 July. Three Janondadee [1] Sachems arive at Albany & say there had been formerly a Cov^t made between their Nation & us & that they are sent by their Sachems to know the particulars of the Antient Treaty between us. They at the same time present a Belt of Wampum w^ch had been given to their (p. 206) Nation by the Commiss^rs —

The Commiss^rs Answer them, that the Belt of Wampum they now present was given them above 40 years ago by the Commiss^rs of Indian Affairs to be kept by them in confirmation of the

[1] Indians who are settled about the Western parts of Lake Erie.

Cov^{t} made with their forefathers & ours w^{ch} was to be reciprocally observed to the End of the World. the purport of w^{ch} Cov^{t} was, that there should be an Everlasting Peace between this Gov^{t} the 5 Nations & their Nation & that the Road should be kept open & Secure between their Country & this City with Free Liberty of Trade & all other rights of Hospitality — And that these conditions of the Treaty were signified on that great Belt of Wampum w^{ch} they now show. That this Antient Cov^{t} was renewed about 38 years ago & again renewed about 22 years ago.

The Indians answer that they are extreamly joyful to hear this Explication of their Belt, & they present a Belt of Wampum in token of their now solemn & Joyful renewal of the s^{d} Cov^{t}

The Commiss^{rs} renew the Cov^{t} with them & give them a fresh Belt of Wampum in token of the same.

Albany 14 Aug^{t} 1743. Two Oneida Sachems accquaint the Commiss^{rs} that Two Persons from Philadelphia & One from Virginia with an Interp^{r} had been amongst the 6 Nations to wipe off the Blood w^{ch} had been shed in Virginia (as mentioned on the other side) & to restore Peace & Friendship between the 6 Nations & the People of Virginia & that this Affair was amicably settled on both sides. —

30 Sep^{r} 1743. The Commiss^{rs} write a Letter to the Hon^{ble} George Clinton congratulating him on his arrival to this Gov^{t}

24 Octo^{r} The Commiss^{rs} write a Long Letter to Gov^{r} Clinton in w^{ch} they [say it is] lay before him a general State of the Forts &^{c} relating to the 6 Nations. They say

The Fort at Oswego is the Key of the 6 Nations & that their Fidelity & Allegiance to His Majesty chiefly depends on our supporting the said Fort. that at present it is Garrisoned only with an officer & 20 Men w^{ch} tho suff^{t} in Time of Peace is not so in a time of War. They say, should this place fall into the hands of the French all the Indian Trade of this Colony would go with it, by w^{ch} means the French would gain over the 6 Nations & all the other Indians wholly to their Interest.

They say, the Sennecas who are the most numerous (p. 207) of the 6 Nations were formerly the most firmly Attached to the British Interest, are of late by the Intrigues & Managment of the French become the most wavering, & without proper care be taken on our side for the time to come, they fear the French will get the greatest part of them over to their Interest. The Commiss^{rs} propose that a Fort should be built in their Country & garrisoned with an Officer & 20 Men. Also that proper measures be fallen on to remove the French who reside in the Sennecas Country & who are constantly debauching their Affections from us. If (say the Commiss^{rs}) the Assembly dont judge proper to support some such Measures as these, they think the 6 Nations will be lost to us, & of what fatal Consequence that would be not only to this but to all the Northern Colonies, those who have experienced what Havock a few Indians can make in time of war can well judge.

The Fort at Saragtoga remains ungarisoned. The Fort at Albany out of Repair. Fort William & Fort Cosby are without an ounce of Pouder. —

These things they hope the Gov^{r} will recommend to the consideration of the Assembly & that they will think of making the necessary provisions.

17 May 1744. I find the Assembly resolved that in case the Gov^{r} & Council thought proper to reinforce the Garrison at Oswego with another Detachment from the Indep^{t} Companys that they would make a Provision for their Transportation & [subsisting] victualing. —

Albany 13 June 1744. The Commiss^{rs} write to the Gov^{r} that as War is now declared between the French & English, they think it absolutely necessary that an outscout of 40 Men should be sent at the charge of the Province [should be sent] to the Carrying Place (a Pass between Albany & Crown Point) to observe the Motions of the Enemy & that a Fort or Place of Strength should be built at the said Carrying Place as a Rendevous or retreat for our Out scouts & Partys w^{ch} it will be necessary in War time to be continually sending out.

They again recommend a Fort to be built in the Sennecas Country.

14 June. The Cacknawaga Indians of Canada send a Messenger to the Commiss^{rs} to accquaint them, that as there is now a (p. 208) War declared between Great Britain & France, the said Cacknawaga Indians were Inclined to keep the Cov^{t} of Neutrality formerly agreed on between them this Gov^{t} & the 6 Nations & that the same friendly intercourse might be kept up between them as in time of Peace.

That they would either come to Onondaga or to Albany to renew the s^{d} Cov^{t}

They were asked whether this Neutrality was intended to include all the French Indians living in & about Canada They s^{d} Yes. Whither they intended it or not only with this Colony but with all the British Subjects of North America. they Ans^{d} yes.

Whether if the English should Attack the French they would keep Neuter ? They answered yes.

I dont find any Answer from the Commiss^{rs} recorded to this Message.

Albany 18 June 1744.

Gov^{r} Clinton meets the 6 Nations at Albany. His Speech to them contains in Substance.

His Majesties orders to him to renew Strengthen & Brighten the Cov^{t} Chain w^{ch} hath so long united the 6 Nations & his Majes^{ys} Subjects together in Union & Friendship & w^{ch} he now dos.

he accquaints them that after several Instances of Treachery the French had declared War against the English & the latter against the French, he therefore recommends them to keep their Warriors at home in readiness to withstand any Attacks or Hostilities from the French.

he promises in the Kings Name to assist & protect them from all assaults of the French & that [the] Commiss^{rs} are present from the Colonies of Massachusets & Conneticut to enter into the same Engagements & to renew the Cov^{t} Chain with them.

In return he tells them he expects they shall at all times be ready & willing to assist his Majesties Subjects in the just prosecution of this War & to act offensively & Defencesivly against

the French & all their Adherents whenever they shall be called upon so to do.

After recounting in general terms the great Advantage (p. 209) And Security of Oswego to them & us he accquaints them that he has Strengthened that Garrison with some Cannon & reinforced it with more Soldiers & expects that they will at all times be ready to defend it against all assaults & attacks from the French.

he exhorts them to live compact together in their Castles w^{ch} is absolutely necessary for their own Security in this time of War. —

he puts them in Mind of their former Promises not to suffer the French to live amongst them or to settle on any of their Lands & expects they will at this time of War punctually fulfill those Promises. —

20 June The 6 Nations return their Answer.

They solemnly renew the Cov^{t} Chain & say they will not put it in the Power of the Devil himself to break or injure it.

In answer to the present War between us & the French, they promise they will keep all their People at home & that they will be ready to do all the Gov^{r} expects or desires from them. But they say they desire to live in Peace until the French begin an Attack upon any of his Majesties Subjects when they will be ready to join in our Defence against them.

Concerning the House at Oswego & their defending the same They say the first Two years after that Trading House was settled Goods were sold Cheap & it was a Pleasure to Trade there, but they have since been sold so dear that they do not now think that Place any Advantage to them. however they are thankful the Gov^{r} has taken Measures to strengthen & defend the Fort. They take Notice that the Gov^{r} has not exhorted them to endeavour to cultivate & extend a Correspondance amongst the Far Indians according to the Custom of all former Gov^{rs} but say, they shall however do all they can to keep Friendship with those Nations who are united with them & then they can overcome any Enemy

whatever.[1] (P. 210.) They say they are now buisy in collecting themselves together in order to live in Compact Bodies.

As to their driving the French from amongst them, they say they have just now declared their desire of living in Peace & should they deliver up the French who live amongst them they would be deemed the first Aggressors & act contrary to their avowed Principles, & therefore they will leave it to us to do with the French who come in their Country as we think proper.

Albany 20 June 1744. The Commiss^{rs} for Massachusetts Bay & Connecticut Speak to the 6 Nations. They desire to renew & brighten the Cov^{t} Chain & that we may all act as Bretheren of One Common Family against any Attempts or Hostilities of the French.

The 6 Nations Answer & renew & brighten the Cov^{t} Chain & promise the same Brotherly assistance & Fidelity to these Colonies as to New York.

Gov^{r} Clinton & the Above Commiss^{rs} Spoke severally to the Schaahkook Indians renewed the Cov^{t} with them put them upon their Guard against the French & expected they should hold themselves ready to assist us in any Attempts from the Enemy.

The s^{d} Indians Answered & promised in our favour

20 June 1744. The Commiss^{rs} Answer the Messenger from the Cacknawaga Indians whose Message is [record] mentioned pag. 207. —

They say, if the several Tribes of Indians living in & about Canada are inclined to preserve a Neutrality with all the British Colonies in America, they desire they will send some Sachems of each Nation in 40 days to Albany in order to confirm this Neutrality.

By this Indian they also sent a Message to the Gov^{r} of Canada importing that if contrary to the Custom among civilized Nations

[1] I cant think this Article an Omission of the Gov^{rs} because no Notice is afterwards recorded of it. If it was left out of this Speech as a Political Measure It appears to me at this Juncture [particularly] a false peice of Policy, — the extending our Trade & Alliance with the Western Indians & animating the 6 Nations to join us therein, seems to me one of the most Salutary Measures this Gov^{t} can pursue & the most effectual Method to distress & oppose the French.

the said Gov^{r} should make War upon these Colonies by sending out scalping Parties upon defenceless Families & murder in Cold Blood the Colonies would be under Necessity to take Revenge by the same Methods.[1]

(P. 211.) Albany 22 June 1744. Seven Onondaga Sachems applied to the Commiss^{rs} & say that when they agreed to let this Gov^{t} build at Oswego they were promised payment for the Land w^{ch} has never been fulfilled & desire it may be now done.

The Commiss^{rs} say they ought to have mentioned this Affair to Gov^{r} Clinton, that they can give no Answer to it & desire they will refer it to the next Meeting with the Gov^{r}

N. B. the French Computation of Fighting Men in Canada at this time including the Regular Troops was 20,000 Men —

6 July 1744. The Commiss^{rs} transmit to the Gov^{r} in order to be laid before the General Assembly a Memorial of what is Necess^{y} to be done in order to put the Frontiers in that part of the Colony in a proper State of defence. It consists of 10 Articles Viz.

1. that the Fort at Oswego be repaired & Strengthened & reinforced with Men & Stores.
2. To employ 30 Men as Outscouts to watch the Motions of the Enemy —
3. Ten Men more as outscouts from Schenectady to range by another Route & meet the Albany out Scouts at a destined place.
4. That a Fort be built at the Carrying Place leading from Hudsons River to the Wood creek & Garrisoned with an Officer & 30 Men.
5. A Fort to be built in the Sennecas Country & Garrisoned

[1] tho this Cacknawaga Indian must have been at Albany during the public Conference (w^{ch} dos not seem to have been a right measure) I dont find by the Records that Gov^{r} Clinton was made accquainted with his Message or his being there or that he gave the Commiss^{rs} an Authority to return the above Answer & send the Message to the Gov^{r} of Canada, but as I can hardly suppose the Commiss^{rs} would have been so presumptuous to conceal this Transaction from the Gov^{r} I imagine the Silence of the Records an Omission —

with an Officer & 50 Men with a Smith, Armourer & Interpret^{r}.

6. That 3 Comp^{ys} of the Militia be detached from the Lower Counties to the City of Albany to defend the same.
7. to Augment the Allowance to the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Affairs for carrying on the same.
8. To supply the City of Albany with its Quota of Pouder raised for the defence of the Province
9. To supply his Majesties Fort at Albany with pouder & Balls
10. That a Feild Officer of the Militia may constantly reside in Albany. —

10 July 1744. M^{r} Bradt who has resided at Oswego as Commissary there returns & makes a Report to the Commiss^{rs} of sundry Matters during his Residence there, the only one I judge necessary to take Notice of is, that the Uttawawa Indians (p. 212) who had been Trading at Oswego told him that if they were sent for in form to come to Albany to treat they would readily come.[1]

I find from several Informations the Commiss^{rs} have received, that they were of Opinion that the Influence of the French is so strong over the Indians living in & about Canada that they are of Opinion the French will prevail on those Indians to break the Neutrality they agreed to with regard to the British Colonies & they communicate this their Opinion to the Gov^{r} of Boston that they may be upon their Guard.

I find by the Commiss^{rs} Letters to the Gov^{r} that the Assembly had refused to raise Money for building Forts at the Carrying

[1] this is the 2^{d} Time these Indians who are a considerable Nation & live to the Westward of Lake Erie have mentioned their willingness to be invited to Albany, but without effect. I have so often mentioned the good Policy & great Importance of improving & extending our Alliances with the Western Indians & from the whole Tenor of these Abstracts the Utility is so apparent that a repetition or further reasoning thereon seems needless. It cannot escape the observation of those who may read these Papers with a Judicious Attention; that when a Prohibition of the French Trade between Albany & Canada took place, a Communication & Alliance with the Western Indians was diligently & successfully pursued, but since that prohibited Trade revived, the contrary is very remarkable.

Place or in the Sennecas Country. the Commiss^rs write that as a Fort in the Sennecas Country will be the only means to prevent the French gaing an Influence over our Indians & frustrate all their Measures they hope the next time the Assembly meet they may be brought to consent. — The French at this time were supplying the Sennecas with Smiths & pushing their Scheems in the Senneca's Country & at Onondaga to gain a Party among the 6 Nations w^ch they so far succeeded in that Numbers among the 6 Nations were well inclined to the French. We were securing Oswego & endeavouring to Counterplot the French by keeping the Indians steady to our Intrest. But the French distributed such considerable Presents amongst the Indians & so well applied that they greatly strengthened their Interest amongst them. Our Commiss^rs complain that the Allowance from the Assembly will not enable them to give the necessary presents. In all their Letters they repeat & press the Building a Fort in the Sennecas Country as the best & only effectual Method to secure our Indians from being debauched by the French. — (P. 213.) The French Interpreter Jean Coeur who resided among the Sennecas found means to spread an Alarm among the 6 Nations that this Province were determined to cut them off. this gained such ground amongst them that they were gathering together & very near begining to commit hostilities upon some of our Settlements however upon 8 of the Commissioners going up amongst the Mohawks all Matters were restored upon a Friendly footing, but the Commiss^rs write the Gov^r nothing will effectually prevent these Artifices of the French but our building & Garrisoning a Fort in the Sennecas Country.

Albany 17 May 1745. I find by the Commiss^rs Letters that M^r Clinton had dissolved the late Assembly upon w^ch the s^d Commiss^rs write viz.

" It seems the late Assembly have not had the regard to Your Excell^cys repeated Representations of the Necessity of fortifying the Frontiers as they justly & evidently merited, We hope the next Assembly will consist of such Members as have a hearty & sincere Desire to serve their Country."

The French having by their Intrigues & Emissaries raised a great deal of Uneasiness & Jealousy of the English amongst the 6 Nations the 26 June 1745. The Commiss^rs^ receive Intelligence that the Gov^r^ of Canada had sent a Message to the Mohawk Indians that if any of them were inclined to come & live in Canada he [had a] was very ready to receive them.

A Considerable Deputation of the 6 Nations are going to meet the Gov^r^ of Canada at [Alba] Montreal. They say they are only going to accquaint him that he must not attack Oswego & that if he dos they will defend it. but there appears reason to think the Managment of the French has drawn them thither in order to cultivate their Influence over & their Interest with them. [1] —

(P. 214.) Albany 17 July 1745 — I find by a Letter from the Commiss^rs^ to Gov^r^ Clinton that the Orondax Indians had cruely murdered & Scalped Two Men in the Gov^t^ of Conneticut. In the same Letter the Commiss^rs^ say, "the People of our Country are daily exposed to & must expect the same Barbarous Cruelties, to prevent w^ch^ the general Assembly have not taken any one step that we know of; a Fort at the Carrying place ought to have been agreed upon at their last Meeting & provision made for a Garrison there & for outscouts." [2]

12 Aug^t^ 1745. a considerable Deputation from each of the 6 Nations having been to Canada to treat with the Gov^r^

[1] Since the Declaration of the War between the French & English, the 6 Nations appear very desirous of preserving themselves Neuter, & endeavour to keep up a friendly Correspondance with both Nations. The French set every Engine at work to gain an ascendancy over the 6 Nations & there is reason to believe from the Records that the French had at this time a greater Influence over them than we had. The Indians certainly stood in more Awe of the French than of us; They likewise bribed higher than we. But the Vicinity of the Indians to our Settlements, their Trade with us, & the Antient uinterupted Harmony between them & us, were considerations w^ch^ nearly Ballanced all the French Politics.

[2] a Fort at the Carrying Place & one in the Sennecas country proposed & so earnestly pressed by the Commiss^rs^ appears to me to have been a very necessary & prudent Measure & I apprehend its not taking Effect with the Assembly must have been from reasons of Frugality. whether they were consistent with real Patriotisim & sound Policy, is a Question too complex to be here detirmined.

there; by means of a Mohawk Indian who was at the s[d] Conference the Commiss[rs] are informed —

That the Gov[r] of Canada denied to them that he had sent out the Onondax Indians to commit any Murder. —

That the Onondaga Sachems had several private Conferences with the Gov[r] of Canada.

That whilst they were there the News of the taking Cape Breton had arrived & occasioned a general Consternation And that the French had lately taken an English Ship aboard of w[ch] were Two Letters importing that the English intended to Attempt the Taking of Canada & afterwards to root out & destroy the 6 Nations. Upon w[ch] the Gov[r] of Canada had in their presence given the Hatchet to all his Indians & w[ch] they accepted. he also offered the Hatchet to all the 6 Nations that they might join the French in a mutual defence against the English & invited them to come & shelter themselves in Canada against the Designs of the English. that the 6 Nations had taken with them a large War Belt from the Gov[r] of Canada in order to consider what measures they should take in a general Council at Onondaga.

(P. 215.) The 12 Aug[t] 1745 — The Commiss[rs] drew up a Memorial to the Representatives of their City & County the purport of w[ch] was that as the French had given the Hatchet of War into the hands of their Indians & offered it to the 6 Nations against the English who had promised to consider of it in a general Council at Onondaga by w[ch] & from many other Circumstances it appeared the 6 Nations were very wavering in their Attachment to the British Interest.

That for these Reasons the said Representatives should move & use their Interest with the Assembly to raise Money for Gov[r] Clinton to have a speedy Meeting with the 6 Nations & to have a Fort built at the Carrying Place.

In this Memorial they say.

"The French have so great a number of Indians in their Interest who have taken up the Hatchet for them, & they give our Indians Annualy so many presents that our 6 Nations both out of self preservation & self Interest must naturally lean to the French side, the Occasion of

w^ch^ is that this Province dos not in any manner assure the Indians of protection against the French in case they engage in a War against them by building Fortifications in their Country, and do not give them any considerable Presents in Comparison with the French." [1]

13 Sep^r^ 1745. Arent Steevens the Interpreter is dispatched to the 6 Nations to Accquaint them that the Gov^r^ of Boston has declared War against the Canada Indians as they have violated the Treaty of Neutrality w^ch^ they had solemnly engaged to keep. the said Interpreter is instructed to endeavour to prevail on the 6 Nations as they are partys in the said Treaty of Neutrality, to endeavour to bring the Canada Indians into the proper Measures for healing up this Breach & again to establish the Treaty of Neutrality. The Interpreter returns & brings for Answer that as the Gov^r^ was daily expected up to speak with them they would refer their Answer upon this Message to the said Meeting. —

(P. 216.) Sometime in October 1745. Gov^r^ Clinton & Commiss^rs^ from the Gov^ts^ of Massachusetts Bay & Connetecut met the 6 Nations at Albany & Gov^r^ Clinton spoke to them to the following purpose. —

That he came to renew & Brighten the Cov^t^ Chain w^ch^ had so long united the 6 Nations & the Subjects of his Britanic Majesty. that it shall be ever kept inviolable by us & we expect the same from them.

he mentions that false Alarm w^ch^ had been spread amongst the 6 Nations of a Design in the English to destroy them & of w^ch^ they had afterwards acknowledged the Falsity. he admonishes them

[1] If to these observations we add, the Neglect of extending & improving Trade & Alliances with the Western Indians, The Cheats & Oppressions practised by the Traders upon the Indians — the Scandalous Methods of buying & taking up Lands, the unrestrained Sale of Rum, the not duly supplying them with [Rum] Smiths & keeping proper Residents in their Countrys together with Securing some Leading Sachem or Sachems of each Nation to our Interest by Annual or occasional Presents. These several Points joined to the Above Observations will point out what have been the wrong & what are the right Measures to increase, to extend & to Establish the British Influence over the Indians in N. America.

for the future not to listen to any such Idle Tales or suffer their Affections for us to be shook thereby.

he mentions their going to Canada & having a Conference with the Gov^{r} there & recites to them the particulars of that Interview w^{ch} were come to our knowledge & expects from them a full, clear & Candid Account of all their Transactions there.

he Accquaints them with the Seige & Surrender of Cape Breton. He tells them that we in these parts have lain still & Quiet being unwilling to carry on the War otherwise than in a Manly & Christian Manner. And puts them in Mind that they had sent Delegates to the Canada Indians to tell them that if they should begin to Attack the [Christians] English the 6 Nations would rise up in Defence of their Bretheren. he then proceeds to Accquaint them with the several Murders & Hostilities committed by the said Indians on the English of Boston & Conneticut & Gov^{r} Shirley finding there was no longer Faith to be kept with them had declared war against the said Canada Indians.

The Gov^{r} then tells them what an Insult it is to Them who were Partys to the Treaty of Neutrality & says that we are now called upon to rise up in our own Defence & to revenge the Blood w^{ch} hath been so perfidiously shed. he puts them in Mind of their promises given to him to assist us if the French or their Indians should begin the War upon us, he calls upon them now to fulfill their Engagments & join us in our Defence & Revenge & presents the Large War Belt to them.

he concludes His Speech with an earnest Exhortation to them to preserve their Allegiance to His Majesty & their Fidelity to all their Bretheren his Subjects & to rise up to their Aid & assistance in Opposition to the Treachery & Bloody Attempts of the French & their Indians. —

(P. 217.) There is no Answer from the Indians nor anything further relating to this Conference to be met with in the Records.

I find altho the French had destroyed our Fort at Saragtogah & killed several of our People & repeated Endeavours were used to prevail on the 6 Nations to send a Detachment from each Nation down to Albany in order to be employed as outscouts & for other Services they made various Excuses & would not come saying

they were fortifying their own Castles & that every one must take Care of himself. At this time Jean Coeur the French Interpreter resided amongst & under the protection of the Sennecas, distributed presents amongst our Indians & had a very great Influence on their proceedings & they said we should not hurt or molest him that he was one of them & had Children amongst them.

In a Letter from the Commiss^rs to Gov^r Clinton [I find] bearing date 4 Jan^ry 1745/6 I find they are of Opinion that in order to cover & Secure our Frontiers from the incursions & Ravages of the Enemy towards Canada, that a Stone Fort be built at the Carrying Place & as there will then be 120 Miles extent open to the Enemy they propose that the Line of Forts on the back of New England should be continued thro those 120 Miles at 12 Miles distance from each other & to put an Officer & 30 Men in each One half of w^ch Number should patrole from each Fort to the other. By this Scheme the whole Country would be covered & defended.[1] —

They say there are about 2000 Men in the City & County capable of bearing Arms. In the City of Albany there are scarce 400. —

[1] This Scheme might I believe Answer the End proposed, but neither is this Colony Populous or rich enough to put it in Execution & in its present state I believe tis a certain Truth that in time of War its produce is not suff^t to support its Defence. But would the Crown Reg^t the Indep^t Companies & Augment them to 600 Effective Men, & the Colony perfect the above Line of Communication & build a Fort at the Carrying Place I believe this Colony New England & Boston Gov^t would be put into a pretty secure Condition to the Northward & Eastw^d — a proper Quantity of Land round each Fort might be given for the Cultivation & towards the Subsistance of the Troops As to the Westward Frontiers Oswego & another Fort to be built in the Sennecas or Onondagas Country would secure us on that side. Besides this Miletary Security would keep the Indians in Awe & inspire them with that respect for the English as would probably take off their Attachment from the French, remotely influence all the other Indians besides the 6 Nations, & at length [perhaps] probably give to the British Colonies in N. America that superior Ascendancy over the French in regard to the Indians, w^ch I am persuaded niether presents nor any Tempor'y Expedients will ever Effect. To this Scheme must be added the throwing Inhabitants into this Colony in particular, where the [immense] immense Patents obtained by the Avarice of particular people from Iniquitous Gov^rs is the Bane of its Prosperity. Whither a Land Tax [by the Crown] settled by Act of Parliam^t would not effect this whole Plan, I leave to Reflection —

(P. 218.) Albany 6 Janʳʸ 1745/6. The Mohawk Sachems of the Two Castles come & renew the Covᵗ with the Commissʳˢ & offer some of their People to Lye this Winter at the rebuilt Fort at Seragtogha & to go on the outscout wᶜʰ is thankfully accepted by the Commissʳˢ

The next day the said Indians accquainted the Commissʳˢ that they had made Peace & an Alliance offensive & deffensive with the Flat heads or Cattabaw Indians & left in the Commissʳˢ hand the Solemn Calumet or Pipe of Peace from the Cattawbaws.

22 Janʳʸ Arent Stevens the Interpreter is dispatched thro the 6 Nations to accquaint them that the Attack upon & the Hostilities committed at Seragtoga by the French & their Indians has put an End to all our hopes of Neutrality & that our Govʳ therefore has taken up the Hatchet against the French & their Indians & expects the 6 Nations as our Bretheren & fellow Subjects will join in the War & for their Encouragment the Govᵗ have appointed £20 — to be paid for every Male Prisoner taken from the French & £10 — for every Scalp. —

25 Febʳʸ Arent Stevens the Interpreter returns from his Embassy & reports that he delivered his Message to the Sachems of the 6 Nations convened in a grand Meeting at Onondaga & that they had flatly refused to take up the Hatchet & assist us against the French & their Indians. They said they & the Cacknawaga Indians in Canada were One Family & one Nation that they intermarried amongst one Another & would not therefore make War upon each other, that when Indians went to War with each other they could not make Peace with that Facility white People did. They desired we should not think the Covᵗ Chain broken by this Refusal as they should not if we refused to assist them in their Wars. The Interpʳ reproached them with the Breach of their late & constant Engagments to our Govʳˢ but all was to no purpose they persisted in their Refusal.

(P. 219.) Upon this News by the Interpreter the Commiss^{rs} dispatch an Express to the Gov^{r} & advise him imediately to summon the 6 Nations to meet him at Albany & there try to bring them to join in the War. They complain heavily of want of money to carry on the Indian Affairs & of the scanty provision made by the Assembly.

In the Commiss^{rs} Letter to the Gov^{r} dated the March 1745/6. They complain of the Assemblys neglect in not raising money to secure the Frontiers & say " they are of opinion that no effectual care being as yet taken to secure our Frontiers is a principal if not the only reason the Indians will not join us in the War."

" Unless there be a very strong Fort built at the Carrying Place & a very considerable Garrison placed in it w^{ch} we have always expected & wished for since the War begun our Frontiers will be still exposed to the Enemys Depradations — "

Intelligence is received that the Mohawks kept privately amongst them a Belt of Wampum from the Gov^{r} of Canada who had sent a Message with it to them purporting that he was certain that the English in whose Settlements they live had a Design last Winter to destroy them all & that the same Scheme is now on foot, he therefore tells them that he has opened a Road between their Dwellings & Canada for them to retreat to him or he to come to their Assistance whenever they will send him word.

Measures are taken to get this Belt out of the hands of the Mohawks & to remove from their Minds any Jealousy or Suspicions w^{ch} this lying Artifice of the Gov^{r} of Canada may have raised.

Albany 5 April 1746. Several Mohawk Sachems apply to the Commiss^{rs} in behalf of their Nation — They complain that as they have sent several of their Warriors to Garrison Seraghtoga they ought to be consulted in all Opperations carried on there w^{ch} they say is not done.

They complain that they have frequently applied to have their Castles fortified in order to secure their Wives & Children but it is not done, & therefore they must recall all their Warriors to set about that work themselves.

12 April 1746. I find by a Letter from the Commiss^rs to the Gov^r that (p. 220) he was dissatisfied with their Managment & having thought some other Persons had more Influence over the Indians than they had, he had employed them in some Negotiations without Accquainting the Commiss^rs with it, w^ch they so much resented that they desire their Dismission from their Offices.[1] —

22 April 1746. The Commiss^rs receive an Acc^t & transmit it to the Gov^r of the Barbarous Murder & Scalping of a principal Farmer at Schaahkook by the French Indians w^ch they say will drive away all the Settlers from their Farms to the Northward of Albany & the Westward of Schenectady & down the Eastern side of Hudson's River —

this shortly after happened & for upwards of 70 Miles along Hudsons River I was a Witness of [a] an almost total Desertion from all the Settlements & w^ch continued till the conclusion of the War, Nay the Grain within 4 Miles of Albany was left unreaped & the Lands uncultivated; such an universal Terror dos the Barbarity of a few Indians Inspire & as the [Settlements] Houses are generaly at some Distance from each other & that part of the Country but thinly settled, this Desertion (the same Circumstances continuing) will always attend the Scalping by the French Indians — Nothing can so effectually secure & enrich a Colonized Country as diffusion of Property & a numerous People. whereas I am informed there have been patents Granted & I believe now in possession of 25 Miles Square to One single Person. Almost every Person is Land Mad & to accumulate vast Tracts of unsittled Land & either to keep or to job with the same seems to rule the Attention of most. hence the Country is kept unpeopled

[1] this Breach between the Gov^r & the Commiss^rs was [the] a principal Source of many intestine Broils & Jarrs between M^r Clinton & the Assembly & other leading Characters in this Province. whither it was a right or a wrong measure, I shall not embroil myself to discuss. nor do I think it a matter w^ch falls in with the Plan or Design of these Papers. Thus far I will venture my opinion, that [as] if it introduced Co^l Johnson into the chief Managment of The Indians, it gave Action to a Gent^n of more Influence & Abilities with regard to Indian Affairs & more respected by them than any other Person in this Province, & the Jealousy & Ingratitude he met with I put down to the Venom of Faction.

produces little or nothing in proportion to its Extent and the Possessors in perpetual Law suits & inveterate Quarrels about their Boundaries & Contest & Hatred transmitted thro their Families. their best Estates pay no Quit Rents to the Crown, & many w^ch^ are subjected [never] will not pay. —

(P. 221.) Albany 2^d^ May 1746 The Commiss^rs^ write a Second Letter to the Gov^r^ accquainting him with several other Attacks Murthers & Scalpings by the French Indians & say that most of the Farmers along the Eastern side of Hudsons River & to the Northward of Albany [are] have deserted their Farms & are come with their Wives & Families for Protection to Albany whose Inhabitants are kept in such constant Alarms & so wore out with Watching & going on the out Scout & as the Indians sit still & will remain Neuter unless a considerable Force be sent up from the lower Counties to the relief of Albany the whole County will speedily be abandoned & the Inhabitants must leave it —

23 July 1746 — Gov^r^ Clinton comes to Albany in order to meet [wuth] & confer with the 6 Nations & prevail on them to join in the War & intended Expedition against Canada —

The Commiss^rs^ report to the Gov^r^ that by all that appears to them the 6 Nations are unwilling to join us in the War against the French & other Indians ——

Albany 19 Aug^t^ 1746. Gov^r^ Clintons Speech to the 6 Nations & to the River Indians — at w^ch^ were present Commiss^rs^ from Massachusetts Bay

he renews the Cov^t^ with them in behalf of all His Majes^ys^ Subjects in N. America —

he puts them in Mind of his giving into their hands the Hatchet of War the last time he met them & their Promise to use it against the French if they made any Attacks & committed any Hostilities upon their Bretheren the English — he tells them they are all Witnesses of the Bloody & Treacherous Murders committed by the French & their Indians & he therefore demands from them the imediate fulfilling of their Engagments.

He accquaints them with the intended Expedition against Canada the Levies raised for the same being many of them now in Albany & he invites them to share the honour & Glory of this Expedition & presents to them The Great War Belt.

23 Aug^{t} The 6 Nations Answer the Gov^{rs} Speech — & Say "We the 6 Nations are now assembled together as one Man & we take in the Messasagas for a Seventh Nation & what is now to be spoken by one Mouth are the joint & Sincere thoughts of (p. 222) every heart" —

They accept the Hatchet & solemnly promise & Engage themselves to make War upon the French & all the Indians in their Alliance, to obey Such orders as His Excell^{cy} shall think proper to give them & in confirmation thereof they throw down their Great War Belt, w^{ch} is the Solemnity of their declaring War. [1] —

The River Indians answer much in the same Manner.

From this Meeting the Milatary Command of the Indians [fell upon] being conferred by Gov^{r} Clinton upon Co^{l} William Johnson it naturally bro^{t} with it the whole Managment of Indian Affairs, so that till the year 1748. the Records are Silent.[2]

[1] at this Meeting Co^{l} Johnson who lives in the Mohawk Country & had the Honour of a Sachem conferred on him, came down to Albany with the Indians habited & painted after their manner — I was at Albany at this Meeting & it was then said that his personal Influence over the Indians was the great means of bringing them into the above Declaration of War, w^{ch} the Commiss^{rs} had vainly tried their utmost Interest to do. And from all that I have been able to learn at that Day & to this Time no Man in this Colony is so much respected by the Indians has so much Influence over them or better deserves it. They looked upon him as their Cheif, their Patron & their Brother they acted under his Command & were almost wholly directed by him.

[2] The date of the last meeting of the Indian commissioners as given by Wraxall is not quite correct. The original registers contain minutes of a meeting of the commissioners on November 24, 1746, at which Hendrick and eight other Indians appeared, though they had refused to appear at another meeting earlier in the same day. They give as a reason for their non-appearance the fact that they are responsible to Colonel Johnson. They also mention Lydius, whose employment by Governor Clinton had been the cause of complaints by the commissioners for some time. This seems to be the last meeting mentioned in the records. Apparently the commissioners had already resigned, but probably their resignation had not yet been accepted. Their letter of resignation is given in the records under date of October 27, 1746, but is not mentioned at all by Wraxall. In it the com-

Albany 23 July 1748. Gov^r Clinton & Gov^r Shirley met the 6 Nations & their Allies the Tontugkrightroones & Schanckaderadygroohness [1] & made their respective Speeches to them. The purport of w^ch were to brighten & Strengthen the Cov^t Chain to accquaint them with his Majesties Approbation of their Conduct in joining his other Subjects in the present War & that he had sent Gov^r Clinton several presents as a mark of his Favour to give to them — To warn them against the Artifices of the French & Animate them to continue in their Attachment & Union with the English, not to harbour the French Amongst them who only came with an Intention to stir up Jealousies & misunderstandings between them & their Bretheren the English.

Gov^r Shirley told them he had brought with him 14 French Prisoners for them to Exchange for such of their People as had been taken by the French. —

(P. 223.) Albany 26 July 1748 — The 6 Nations Answer Gov^r Clintons Speech The renew the Cov^t Chain, they acknowledge his Majesty King George as their Common Father & Protector & that their Duty & Fidelity is due to him. They promise faithfully to act in conformity to the several Exhortations given them by Gov^r Clinton — This Speech they address to Gov^r Clinton in the First place to Co^l Johnson in the Second & Gov^r Shirley in the Third —

They afterwards make a Seperate Speech to Gov^r Shirley in Answer to one he made them.

missioners complain of the governor's accusations against them made to the Assembly, and after giving a justification of their own conduct, they close as follows: "We hope y^r Excell^y will excuse us & appoint others in our Room who will act more Agreeable to y^r Excellency and we hope do more Service to the publick then it has been in our Power to do under the Disadvantages we ly under." The letter is signed by Myndert Schuyler, Nicholas Bleecker, John Lansingh, Jr., Hendrick Ten Eyck, Dirck Tenbroeck, and John Depeyster. — Ed.

[1] Tontugarightroones = Catawbas.

Schancaderadygroohness, variously spelled, but seldom like this: a tribe formerly living in Maryland, but now united with the Oneidas. — Ed.

The Two Gov^rs next Speak to the River Indians praising them for & exhorting them to continue in their Fidelity to His Majesty —

To w^ch they return a Suitable Answer ——

here Ends the Records of Indian Affairs bound up in 4 Volumes Folio. —

The only remaining Account of the proceedings in Indian Affairs w^ch I can meet with among the Records & Papers in my Custody is a Meeting of Gov^r Clinton Commiss^rs from Massachusetts Bay, Conneticut & M^r Bull with Delegates from the Cattabaw Nation in South Carolina with the 6 Nations at Albany the 1 July 1751. —

The Chief Buisness done at this Meeting was to make a Peace & Union between the 6 Nations & the Cattabaws & other Indians subjects to his Majesty in the Province of South Carolina — w^ch was accordingly effected. —

I find by the 6 Nations Speech to Gov^r Clinton that Co^l Johnson had declined acting any further in Indian Affairs w^ch the 6 Nations took Notice of with the warmest Expressions of Sorrow & Concern & desired the Gov^r would reinstate him & when he arrived in England would apply to His Majesty to have him appointed to Manage the Indian Affairs —

Gov^r Clinton takes notice to them of a Fort the French are Building at Oniagara [1] he represents to them the Fatal Consequences of their suffering (p. 224) French to environ them with their Forts & directs them to prohibit their going on with any such Buildings. he also mentions the French going to build a Fort near the Ohio —

The 6 Nations in their Answer say they have already dispatched an Embassy to Canada about these Buildings of the French & shall take further measures about them & they add further in their said Speech. —

" We desire your Excell^cy will carry a Message [for us] from us & inform the King our Father that the French are endeavouring to take away our Lands & Build Forts on them & beg that the

[1] Between Lake Erie & Lake Ontario to the Southward of Niagara

King will inform the King of France of the Proceedings of his Subjects that he may put a Stop to it for that the Land belongs to the King our Father & the Gov^{r} of this Province.[1] —

[1] This Claim of the Indians of the 6 Nations & the consequent right of the Crown of Great Britain by their having repeatedly put themselves & all their Lands both Occupied & Conquered under the Dominion & protection of the Crown of Great Britain, is so well supported by incontestible Proofs in the Indian Records from their earliest Period to this Day & w^{ch} I have taken care to mention frequently in these Abstracts. [that unless] hence as I conclude all the French Forts from Crown Point to West end of Lake Erie along the South side of the River S^{t} Laurens & of the Lakes Ontario & Erie, are unjustifiable Encroachments & contrary to the Law of Nature & of Nations.

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